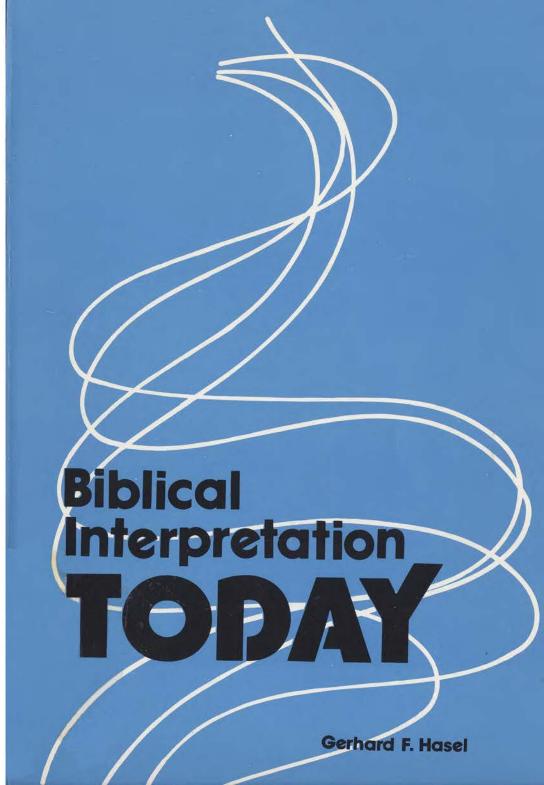BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION TODAY

GERHARD F. HASEL

Biblical
Interpretation
TODAY

Gerhard F. Hasel

An Analysis of Modern Methods of Biblical Interpretation
and Proposals for the Interpretation of the Bible
as the Word of God

by

Gerhard F. Hasel, Ph.D.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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GUIDE TO TRANSLITERATION

The consonants of biblical Hebrew and Aramaic words or phrases are transliterated and printed in italics as follows:

א	= $^{\prime}$	ד	= $\underline{d}$	י	= y	ס	= s	ר	= r
ב	= b	ה	= $\overline{h}$	כ	= k	ע	= $^{\varsigma}$	שׂ	= ś
ב	= $\underline{b}$	ו	= w	כ	= $\underline{k}$	פ	= p	שׁ	= š
ג	= g	ז	= z	ל	= $\overline{l}$	פ	= $\underline{p}$	ת	= t
ג	= $\underline{g}$	ח	= ḥ	מ	= m	צ	= ṣ	ת	= $\underline{t}$
ד	= d	ט	= ṭ	נ	= n	ק	= q		

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ABBREVIATIONS

AER	*American Ecclesiastical Review*
AHW	*Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts*
ARI	*Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeological Review*
BARev	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BC	*Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*
BR	*Biblical Research*
BS	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly*
ETL	*Ephemerides theological lovanienses*
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
HBT	*Horizons in Biblical Theology*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IDB	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
Int	*Interpretation*
JASA	*Journal of the American Scientific Affiliation*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
LTJ	*Lutheran Theological Journal*
NRT	*Nouvelle revue theologique*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TToday	*Theology Today*
ThStKr	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*
Theology	*Theology of the Old Testament*
USQ	*Union Seminary Quarterly*
UT	*Ugaritic Textbook*
VTSup	*Vetus Testamentum Supplement*
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZST	*Zeitschrift für Systematische Theologie und Religionsphilosophie*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

FOREWORD

The subject of biblical interpretation is enormous in its magnitude. It has momentous implications for both church and believer. Any person with even a casual interest in the matter of the interpretation of the Bible is aware that this issue can bring sharp division among laypersons, students, pastors, and scholars, aside from separating denominations and their churches. Methods of biblical interpretation have brought discord to theological faculties and frequently alienated them from their constituencies. Varying methods of interpreting Scripture have led to schisms in churches and fostered the establishment of new denominations, even in recent years.

This brief volume is an attempt to describe in as succinct a fashion as possible the origin and growth of the historical-critical method and its usage today. We attempt to illustrate how it functions on the basis of its application to major parts of the OT and NT. In order to accomplish this we have drawn upon widely known representative books and studies. We also propose an alternative approach to the interpretation of the Bible that is faithful to Scripture as the Word of God.

It is our hope that the pages of this volume will assist in bringing about a greater awareness of today's issues in biblical interpretation, that they will lead to a deeper level of reflection about the Bible as the Word of God as it determines its own interpretational mode, and that they will provide stimuli for a more faithful and appropriate method of interpreting the Bible. If one or more of these goals is reached, then the endeavor of these pages has been met.

Gratitude and thanks are due to many people, including students, colleagues, pastors, and scientists who have served as a constant point of reference in discussions and reflections. The past director of the Biblical Research Institute, Dr. Richard Lesher, provided great encouragement toward the completion of this study, and its present director, Dr. George Reid, assisted, together with E. Edward Zinke in providing expert editorial support for the final product of this manuscript. Of course, I am responsible for any shortcomings that may be detected. My wife has been a steady source of support over the long period of time in the making of this volume. This book is dedicated to all my graduate students.

Gerhard F. Hasel
March, 1985

INTRODUCTION

The story of the interpretation of the Bible is fascinating and eventful. It is a story of conflict and debate, of crisis and dissension that is long and complex.[1] In past times the teachings of the Christian church were supported by explicit or implicit statements of Scripture. But inasmuch as the teachings of Christian bodies varied, so also the methods of interpreting the Bible differed, thereby giving support to the varying teachings. Professor G. Ebeling, a scholar known for his expertise in hermeneutics and methods of biblical and theological interpretation, has suggested that the history of the Christian church is the history of the interpretation of Scripture.[2] If there is validity, even in a general sense, in this suggestion, then it would follow that the history of any church body is also the history of its interpretation of Scripture. By implication a shift or change in the method used for interpretation of Scripture by a church, its scholars, or others within it inevitably would be accompanied by a shift or change in its course, doctrines, self-understanding, purpose, and mission.

It is important for every informed person to have a basic knowledge and understanding of the methods of biblical interpretation and their history. The purpose here is to provide an overview of the study of the Bible in modern times. In order to appreciate fully the contemporary trends in biblical studies, this chapter will give a thumbnail sketch of the interpretation of the Bible prior to the Reformation, the radical changes that took place during the Reformation, and the equally radical changes of the new method of interpretation that had its advent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and which has continued to dominate the interpretation of Scripture into the modern critical period of the present.

Interpretation in the Pre-Reformation Period

In the span of time from the second through the fifteenth centuries—the pre-Reformation period[3]—two major schools of biblical interpretation developed: one at Alexandria, Egypt; and the other at Antioch in Syria.

The school of Alexandria[4] was influenced by Philo of Alexandria, a Jewish writer contemporary with Paul, and by Hellenistic strands of thought. It developed under the guidance of such early Christian fathers as Clement of Alexandria (ca. 155 to ca. 220) and Origen (ca. 185 to ca. 254). This school is known for the radical application of the allegorical method of biblical interpretation which claims that "all scripture has a spiritual meaning; not all has a literal meaning."[5] The literal meaning is the surface intent that appears when one investigates the plain sense of a text, but the allegorical meaning is another meaning, one altogether different from that which appears on the surface. It is spiritual and thus more important. The allegorical method of the Alexandrian school held that any passage of Scripture had to be interpreted in a non-literal, allegorical sense if its literal sense contradicted contemporary knowledge. Furthermore, this method also claimed that every text or passage of Scripture had to be interpreted allegorically in order for its true meaning to emerge.

The church father Origen concluded that the Bible has a threefold meaning, corresponding to body, soul, and spirit in man, which consisted of the "literal" ("material"), the "soulish" ("psychical") and the "spiritual" meanings. The "soulish" and "spiritual" meanings or senses were considered by far the most important.

In medieval times the threefold meaning of Scripture was expanded, following the lead of Augustine, to the fourfold sense of Scripture, in which every passage embraced a "literal," an "allegorical," a "tropological" and an "anagogical" sense. The "literal" sense spoke of acts, the "allegorical" of what one believes, the "tropological" of what one does, and the "anagogical" of what one hopes.[6]

It has been noted that at a critical moment in Christian history the medieval allegorical method "made it possible to uphold the rationality of Christian faith."[7] This means that medieval thought did not intend to uphold Christian faith on the basis of an interpretation that arose from and remained under the control of Scripture. Rather, on the basis of the allegorical method of interpretation (which gained the endorsement of the medieval church), it was possible to interpret the Bible in a way that based

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[1]Among the important works that discuss these issues are: Frederic W. Farrar, *History of Interpretation* (Grand Rapids, Baker Book, 1979); G. H. Gilbert, *Interpretation of the Bible* (New York, 1908); J. D. Smart, *The Interpretation of Scripture* (Philadelphia, 1961); Robert M. Grant, *A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible*, rev. ed. (New York, 1963); James Barr, *The Bible in the Modern World* (London, 1973).

[2]G. Ebeling, "Church History is the History of the Exposition of Scripture," in *The Word of God and Tradition* (Philadelphia, 1968), pp. 11-31.

[3]See Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1952); R. M. Grant, *The Letter and the Spirit* (London, 1957); R.P.C. Hanson, *Allegory and Event* (London, 1959); J. Danielou, *From Shadow to Reality* (Westminster, MD, 1960); ed. S. L. Greenslade, *The Cambridge History of the Bible: The West From the Reformation to the Present Day* (Cambridge, 1963); G.A.C. Hadfield, "History of Interpretation: Medieval Christian," IDB, Supp. (1976), pp. 452-54; H. L. Drumwright, Jr., "Interpretation," *The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, 1977), 3:297-305; D. P. Fuller, "History of Interpretation," *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, 1982), 2:863-74.

[4]Farrar, pp. 11-58; Grant, pp. 75-88.

[5]Grant, p. 84.

[6]W. A. Quanbeck, "Luther's Early Exegesis," *Luther Today* (Decorah, IA, 1957), 1:62, as defined by Luther before he broke with this medieval method, the standard of his day.

[7]Grant, p. 88.

Christian faith largely on Greek philosophical systems.[8] In this way the Bible was not its sole interpreter, for it was understood from the standpoint of an entity outside itself, that is, church tradition and philosophy. As one of the three sources of authority in Roman Catholicism—"sacred tradition, sacred Scripture, and the teaching authority of the Church"—Scripture is not accepted as the sole, independent authority for faith and life.[9]

The allegorical method of the Alexandrian school was opposed by the school of Antioch which insisted on the literal sense or meaning of Scripture.[10] Among the great scriptural exponents of the school of Antioch were Theophilus of Antioch (late second century), Theodore of Mopsuestia (ca. 350-428), Diodores of Tarsus (d. before 394), and John Chrysostom (ca. 344-407). In order to stress the literal, historical meaning of the Bible, great emphasis was placed on grammatical studies. Although the literal-historical method of the Antiochene school of exegesis came to be eclipsed by the allegorical method of the Alexandrian school, the literal-historical method was destined to become the main exegetical method of the Reformation period and beyond.

Interpretation in the Reformation Period

The dominant figures of the sixteenth century Reformation such as Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, and many of the Anabaptist radical reformers, broke with the medieval allegorical method of interpretation. Martin Luther's call for *sola Scriptura* ("Scripture alone") was part of his struggle against the authority of Rome that superimposed itself upon Scripture.[11] For Luther, Scripture was to be "its own interpreter."[12] He maintained that "Scripture is its own light." This can be maintained only, he suggested, "when Scripture interprets itself; therefore, do not believe but hold as false what is not proven with clear texts from the Bible."[13] Luther remarked later in life, "When I was a monk, I was an expert at allegorizing Scripture, but now my best skill is only to give the literal, simple sense of Scripture, from which comes power, life, comfort, and instruction."[14] All of this was

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[8]For example, in an earlier period, Origen's thinking in all essentials, including his method of interpretation of Scripture, worked on the presupposition of Platonism. See Hanson, *Allegory and Event*, p. 361.

[9]For the current situation, see ed. W. M. Abbott, *The Documents of Vatican II* (New York, 1966), pp. 111-28, esp. p. 118.

[10]Farrar, pp. 210-19.

[11]M. Reu, *Luther and the Scriptures* (Columbus, OH, 1944); J. J. Pelikan, *Luther the Expositor* (St. Louis, 1959); Gerhard Ebeling, *Evangelische Evangelienauslegung* (Darmstadt, 1962).

[12]*Weimarer Ausgabe*, 7, 97, 23-24.

[13]WA 10, 3, 238, 10-12.

[14]Luther, *Tischreden*, 5285 (October 1540), quoted by Fuller, in "History of Interpretation," p. 865.

crucial for the new way of interpreting the Bible—one free from ecclesiastical tradition and the teaching authority of the Roman Catholic Church—a system free to interpret itself from within itself.

The grammatical-historical (also called the historical-grammatical) method of the Reformation was developed within the context of the *sola Scriptura principle*, for it sought to take seriously the divine-human nature of the Bible, that is, the fact that its message originated through divine inspiration and that the inspired writers of the Bible communicated the message through the limited means of human languages—Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. The historical-grammatical method was concerned with issues such as authorship, date of composition, historical background and language as these relate to the meaning of the text and finally to the meaning of the Bible as a whole. At each step in interpretation, the controlling principle was the Bible as its own interpreter. This method accepted at face value the divine-human origin of the Bible, which rendered it the Word of God in the language of men.

Martin Luther, however, did not grant every book in Scripture the same rights. As is well-known, Luther made a distinction between the "chief books of the New Testament"[15] and those he held in lesser status such as James, a "letter of straw,"[16] Jude, Hebrews, and Revelation.[17] Luther developed the normative principle that "all truly holy books agree in one thing—that they all preach and manifest Christ."[18] Thus the so-called Christological principle, that is, the principle of "what manifests Christ," becomes for Luther a canon within the canon, namely, a rule or measure taken from Scripture and used upon Scripture, as "the true rule of testing for the censuring of all books [of the OT and NT]."[19] Thus, Luther employed a critical norm of judgment that he selected subjectively in order to determine what in Scripture is binding and normative for faith and life.[20] It appears that Luther replaced external, collective ecclesiastical norms (tradition and ecclesiastical teaching authority) with an internal, subjective norm. Although Luther seems to have gone astray with his "canon within the canon," he broke forcefully with the allegorical method.

Interpretation in the Post-Reformation Period

The grammatical-historical method of the Reformation period also was advocated by Calvin, Zwingli, Melanchthon, and others, becoming the main method of interpretation of Protestants. Becoming solidified in the

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[15]WA, Deutsche Bibel, 7:344.

[16]WA, Deutsche Bibel, 7:10.

[17]Werner Georg Kümmel, *The New Testament: The History of the Investigation of its Problems* (Nashville, 1972), pp. 24-26.

[18]WA, Deutsche Bibel, 7:384.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Gerhard F. Hasel, "Whole Scripture or 'Canon Within the Canon,'" *The Channel* 2 (April 1978): 25-50.

remaining years of the sixteenth century and well into the seventeenth century, it has remained the foundation of Bible-believing students as well as conservative scholars and denominations to the present.

In the eighteenth century, however, a radical new method of interpretation developed which had precursors in the seventeenth century. It is called the historical-critical method.

The critical period of exegesis and interpretation of the Bible begins with influences stemming from the age of the Enlightenment and rationalism in the late eighteenth century. Scholars who align themselves with or subscribe to the historical-critical method speak of two epochs in interpretative methods: a pre-critical period of interpretation before the eighteenth century and the critical or historical-critical period beginning in the eighteenth century.[21]

This brief survey of methods of biblical interpretation has described something widely acknowledged to be true; namely, that three major methods of interpretation have dominated biblical interpretation from the second century to the middle of the twentieth century. The allegorical method prevalent in pre-Reformation times was replaced during the Reformation by the grammatical-historical method. This method continues to be used to the present among Christians who hold to a high view of Scripture.[22]

The critical interpretative method dominant today is called the historical-critical method by its users with its beginnings stemming from the age of rationalism in the eighteenth century.[23] Therefore, in the three and one-half centuries since the Reformation, two methods of interpretation have competed, if not become locked in a life-and-death struggle with each other regarding the proper handling of Scripture. Since the 1970s the method of structuralism has been added which is built on a linguistic paradigm.

The following chapters briefly survey developments in the interpreta-

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[21]See, for example, Hans W. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven, CT, 1974), pp. 17-65.

[22]Examples are W. C. Kaiser, Jr., *Exegetical Theology* (Grand Rapids, 1981); Bernard Ramm, *Protestant Biblical Interpretation*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, 1956); Arther W. Pink, *Interpretation of the Scriptures* (Grand Rapids, 1972); S. Kistemaker, ed., *Interpreting God's Word Today* (Grand Rapids, 1970); R. F. Surburg, *How Dependable Is the Bible?* (Philadelphia and New York, 1978); Gordon M. Hyde, ed., *A Symposium on Hermeneutics* (Washington, DC, 1974); Morris A. Inch and Samuel J. Schultz, eds., *Interpreting the Word of God* (Chicago, 1976); Edward J. Young, *Thy Word is Truth* (Grand Rapids, 1957), Cornelius Van Til, *The New Hermeneutic* (Phillipsburg, NJ, 1974).

[23]Edgar Krentz, *The Historical-Critical Method* (Philadelphia, 1975), pp. 16-22; Gerhard Maier, *The End of the Historical-Critical Method* (St. Louis, 1977).

tion of Scripture without treating the subject exhaustively. We will not attempt to stress textual studies since they originated long before the rise of historical-critical methods. The major procedures of the historical-critical method will be described from their historical beginnings to the present. Our presentation will emphasize the development of the historical-critical procedures of (1) source criticism of the OT, (2) form criticism of the OT, (3) tradition criticism of the OT, (4) source criticism of the NT, (5) form criticism of the NT, and (6) redaction criticism of the NT. The basic principles of the historical-critical method will be reviewed, as well as reactions to it. By way of contrast, a biblical approach to the study of Scripture will be outlined. Finally, an appendix will discuss structural criticism of the Bible. We shall provide a brief historical survey of these major forms of study and interpretation by means of representative examples of how they have worked, and reactions that have come from people following various types of scholarship.

HISTORICAL-CRITICAL METHOD AND THE OLD TESTAMENT

Source Criticism of the Old Testament

Source criticism is broadly defined as that part of the historical-critical method that seeks to determine whether a biblical book is a unity or the result of composite sources and, if it is determined to be the latter, the origin and nature of the sources employed and the delineation of the stages of composition that have led to the book in the fixed biblical form.[1] Source criticism has been identified commonly with literary criticism, although in recent times literary criticism is more directly treated as a general designation that includes, aside from source criticism, stylistic analysis and the study of other features.[2]

Source Criticism of the Pentateuch

The earliest use of source criticism of the OT was its application to the study of the Pentateuch.[3] Theories developed in Pentateuchal source criticism also have been applied with rigor to other books of the OT. It is mandatory therefore to give special attention to a succinct history of Pentateuchal criticism, noting reactions from within and without.

1. **Pre-Reformation period.** The Christian church adopted from the Jews the OT canon as Scripture, consisting of three divisions in Palestinian Judaism--Law, Prophets, and Writings. Like the Jews of the time, the Law, that is, the Torah or Pentateuch (usually called the Five Books of Moses), possessed an authority for Christians compatible with divine inspiration and Mosaic authorship.

The Jews always had accepted the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, except Deuteronomy 34:5-12 which they believed was written by Joshua.[4] In medieval times several Jewish voices raised doubts about the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Ibn Hazam of Cordova, in advancing his claim that Islam constituted the true faith,[5] held (ca. A.D. 994) that much of the Pentateuch was the work of Ezra. Ibn Yashuh (ca. A.D. 1000) suggested that the Pentateuch contains several post-Mosaic sections.[6] The famous Spanish scholar Ibn Ezra (A.D. 1092-1167) refuted Ibn Yashuh's arguments, but hinted that Genesis 12:6 must come from a time after Moses when the Canaanites were no longer in the land.[7] On the whole, however, Mosaic authorship was accepted as part of Jewish tradition.

Among pre-Reformation Christians the traditional view that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch was generally accepted. Some, however, disagreed. The prominent second-century heretic, Marcion, rejected not only the Pentateuch but excluded the entire OT from his own canon of Scripture. The Nazarenes, a Jewish-Christian sect, denied that Moses wrote the five books attributed to him,[8] and the Ebionites are said to have rejected certain parts of the Torah.[9]

Among the Church Fathers only Irenaeus (d. ca. A.D. 200), Clement of Alexandria (d. ca. A.D. 220), Tertullian (d. ca. A.D. 230), and a few others followed the fictitious story of the spurious book of 2 Esdras (written about A.D. 100) that at the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. all books of the OT were destroyed and that Ezra dictated them by inspiration to five scribes.[10] In the fifth century Jerome raised a question about the authenticity of the story of 2 Esdras, but at the same time expressed guarded doubts regarding the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. During medieval times Christians in general accepted Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.[11]

2. **From the Reformation to the eighteenth century.** The Reformation leaders accepted the authority of Scripture as the fully inspired Word of God. The Reformers used Scripture to regulate all faith and life and accepted Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. The only major scholar of the Reformation to raise questions regarding the authorship of the Pentateuch was Andreas von Karlstadt. In his work *De canonis scripturis Libellus* (1520) he claimed that the account of the death of Moses in Deuteronomy 34:5-12 has the same style, and therefore the same author, as the preceding narrative. From this he concluded that since Moses could not have written the account of his own death, neither could he have written what precedes it.[12]

In 1574 the Catholic lawyer Andreas Masius raised questions about the authorship of Joshua and the Pentateuch, introducing such terms as "compilation" and "redaction" and denying much of the historicity of these

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[1] T. E. Fretheim, "Source Criticism, OT," IDB, Supp. (1976), p. 838.

[2] Ibid.

[3] From a conservative perspective, the following introductions are important: Edward J. Young, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, 1960), pp. 107-159; Gleason L. Archer, Jr., *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction* (Chicago, 1964), pp. 76-168; R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, 1969), pp. 493-662; Horace D. Hummel, *The Word Becoming Flesh* (St. Louis, 1979), pp. 32-98. For the critical position, see Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York, 1948), pp. 129-291; Otto Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (New York, 1965), pp. 158-211; G. Fohrer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Nashville, 1968), pp. 103-194; J. Soggin, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1981).

[4] Talmud, *Baba Bathra* 14b-15a, Soncino ed., pp. 71-73.

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[5] Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 7.

[6] Ibid., p. 4.

[7] Ibid.

[8] PG, 41:257; 94:688-89.

[9] PG, 41:436.

[10] 2 Esdras 14:34-48.

[11] 5BC 149.

[12] Eissfeldt, p. 159; see also 5BC 149.

books.[13] This kind of criticism also was applied in a study published in 1594-1600 by the Spanish Jesuit Bento Pereira, who suggested nevertheless that in essence the Pentateuch is the product of Moses.[14] The French Catholic rationalist Richard Simon (1638-1712), a former Protestant, published his three-volume *Critical History of the Old Testament in 1678.*[15] He claimed that the Pentateuch had a long history of complex literary activity reflecting a tradition history extending from Moses to Ezra. His ultimate aim was to demonstrate that the Christian religion was founded on tradition, therefore the Bible has no independent authority. The works of both Masius and Simon were so radical that the pope put them on the Index of books not to be read by Catholics.

The Reformed scholar Isaac de la Peyrere (1655) attempted to demonstrate that documents of pre-Mosaic authors were incorporated into the Pentateuch by Moses himself.[16]

Jean Le Clerc (1685) argued forcefully against the hypotheses of R. Simon and Benedict de Spinoza,[17] the Jewish pantheistic philosopher, who wrote in 1670 that Ezra was the compiler of the Pentateuch as well as other books of the OT. But Le Clerc himself suggested that Genesis 1-11 was written by priests prior to the Jewish exile.[18]

Despite the critical studies produced by these individuals, they were only precursors to the full-fledged source criticism of the Pentateuch that originated in the age of the Enlightenment.

The Enlightenment was characterized by a new philosophical norm—rationalism. This meant that human reason was set up as the final criterion and chief source and arbiter of what is to be accepted as true and factual.

First and foremost rationalism reacted against any form of supernaturalism, which inevitably led to rejection of the authority of the Bible as the infallible record of divinely inspired revelation. This type of antisupernaturalism was particularly evident in the critical scholarship of J. S. Semler. His multivolume work (1771-1775) criticized the canon and biblical inspiration.[19] The result was an abandonment of the inspiration of Scripture, so that the Bible was said simply to consist simply of ancient documents to be studied by the same method as any other ancient document.

Such claims represented a radical shift from the concept that the Bible is the Word of God in human language to the concept that the Bible is of purely human origin. Hence, in the age of the Enlightenment a totally new hermeneutic or system of interpretation was developed—the historical-

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[13]A. Masius, *Josuae Imperatoris Historia Illustrata Atque Explicata.*

[14]Harrison, p. 498.

[15]R. Deville, "Richard Simon, critique catholiojue du Pentateuque," NRT 73 (1951): 723-39.

[16]*Systema theologicum ex praeadamitarum hypothesi* (1655).

[17]B. de Spinoza, *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (1670).

[18]Harrison, p. 498.

[19]J. S. Semler, *Abhandlung von freier Untersuchung des Kanon*, 5 vols. (1771-1775).

critical method. This represented a major departure from the historical-grammatical method of the Reformation. In various forms this method holds sway to the present day in the application of criticism to the study and interpretation of the Bible by "liberal" and "modernistic" scholarship. Therefore we see that the earliest form of the historical-critical method was Pentateuchal source criticism as it emerged in the eighteenth century.

3. From the eighteenth to the twentieth century. (1) "The older documentary hypothesis" of the Pentateuch[20] was developed as a means of accounting for the different divine names employed in certain sections of Genesis. In 1711 the German Lutheran pastor H. B. Witter wrote an unfinished commentary on Genesis,[21] in which he noted that Genesis 1:1—2:4 uses a different divine name from that in 2:5—3:24. His work was forgotten, however, until the beginning of the twentieth century, therefore it had no lasting influence on Pentateuchal source criticism.

In 1753 the French physician to Louis XV, Jean Astruc (1684-1766), published anonymously his *Conjectures*[22] concerning the composition of Genesis, which became basic for Pentateuchal source criticism. He concluded that Moses employed two sources—one, which he designated as the "A" source, using the divine name *'Elohim*; and the other, which he called the "B" source, using the divine name *Yahweh*. Astruc posited an additional ten sources of a fragmentary nature for Genesis. His hypothesis of literary sources (2 + 10) was the basis on which later Pentateuchal source criticism was founded.

The German scholar J. G. Eichhorn (1752-1827) stood fully within the intellectual ferment of the age of the Enlightenment and in 1780-1783 produced his pioneering work, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament (Introduction to the Old Testament)*, which provided the pattern for all future "introductions" of the OT in the tradition of the historical-critical method. He was influenced by Semler's rationalistic contention that the OT is not the timeless Word of God, but rather an ancient production limited to its time and space. Eichhorn collected and systematized the critical thinking of his predecessors. He popularized the Pentateuchal source criticism of Astruc and others and characterized more precisely the style and thought of the sources using the name *'Elohim*, which he called "Elohist," and *Yahweh*, which he called "Jahwist." He also described three to five additional fragmentary sources and suggested in later editions of his work that redactors compiled the books Genesis to Leviticus from these sources.

A. Fragment hypothesis. The "fragment hypothesis"[23] was developed by the Scottish Catholic theologian Alexander Geddes in two works (1792,

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[20]Eissfeldt, pp. 160-62.

[21]H. B. Witter, *Yura Israelitarum in Palestinam* (Hildesheim, 1711); cf. H. Bardtke, "Henning Bernhard Witter," ZAW 66 (1954): 153-81. The commentary reached only as far as Genesis 17:27.

[22]J. Astruc, *Conjectures sur les mémoires dont il paroit que Moyse s'est servi, pour composer le livre de la Genèse* (Paris, 1753).

[23]Eissfeldt, pp. 162-63.

1800)[24] in which he noted inconsistencies in the "older documentary hypothesis." He insisted that the Pentateuch was not drawn from source documents. Instead, he argued for a mass of larger and smaller, independent, and at times contradictory fragments that were combined into the Pentateuch in the time of Solomon. In Germany J. S. Vater, influenced by Geddes, introduced the " 'fragment' hypothesis"[25] in a three-volume work (1802-1805). He conjectured that an important collection of fragments already existed in the time of Joshua, and that the laws were collected in the time of David and Solomon, but that the Pentateuch itself did not receive its final form until after the fall of Jerusalem. Vater's influence is evident in W.M.L. de Wette's *Historical-Critical Introduction to the Bible* (1817), in which he adopted the "Fragment Hypothesis" for the books of Genesis through Numbers. Already in 1805 De Wette followed Vater but suggested that Deuteronomy is a work differing from the remainder of the Pentateuch, stemming from a later author in 621 B.C.

De Wette also was deeply influenced by Eichhorn. Along with him he treated the events of the Bible as phenomena comparable to other historical reports and subject to the same laws of historical research, thus denying on an a priori basis any supernatural forces at work in the shaping of history.[26]

The historical-critical method as perceived by De Wette and his followers combined literary (source) criticism with historical criticism. Historical criticism attempted to determine the value of the biblical books as purely human productions and historical documents of the past, both in facts and teaching. The philosophical and theological premises of the Enlightenment and Romanticism at work in the period have left their lasting mark to the present.

B. Supplementary hypothesis. In time the "supplementary hypothesis"[27] of Pentateuchal source criticism replaced the " 'fragment' hypothesis." H. Ewald (1803-1875) carried forward the historical-critical method of de Wette and W. Vatke (1806-1882).[28] The latter was strongly influenced by the Hegelian philosophy of history with its dialectic of thesis and antithesis, out of which arises a new synthesis, which in turn becomes the next thesis and stage in the struggle of progress.[29]

Ewald's influential essay of 1831 suggested that the basic source for the Pentateuch was the Elohist, which was supplemented by Jehovistic sections and other fragmentary sources. The "Fragment Hypothesis" was supported by F. Bleek (1836), J.C.F. Tuch (1838), and Franz Delitzsch

[24]A. Geddes, *The Holy Bible*, vol. 1 (1792); Id., *Critical Remarks on the Hebrew*, vol. 1 (1800).

[25]J. S. Vater, *Commentar uber den Pentateuch*, 3 vols. (1802, 1805).

[26]R. Smend, *W.M.L. de Wettes Arbeit am Alten und Neuen Testament* (Göttingen, 1958).

[27]Eissfeldt, p. 163.

[28]H. Ewald in ThStKr 4 (1831): 595-606.

[29]W. Vatke, *Die Religion des Alten Testaments*, vol. 1 (1835).

(1852). It was more or less a combination of the "older documentary hypothesis" and the "supplementary hypothesis."

C. New documentary hypothesis. In 1853 H. Hupfeld of Germany returned to a purely documentary hypothesis, proposing "the new documentary hypothesis"[30] with three basic sources for the Pentateuch (aside from Deuteronomy): namely, an original Elohist source, a later Elohist source, and a Yahwist source, the latest of the three. His view was similar to one that had been advanced by K. D. Ilgen (1798), but Hupfeld argued that a redactor (R) combined these three sources into a literary unit. Hupfeld's hypothesis commanded a significant following in the works of later critical scholars. Of particular note are the studies of K. H. Graf (1815-1869), A. Kuenen (1828-1891), and Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918). The latter produced a new synthesis that is enshrined in his influential *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (1883).[31] Wellhausen popularized the redating of the sources of the Hexateuch (the Pentateuch plus Joshua) and posited four major documents: J, E, D, and P. J was said to use the name Yahweh and to be dated to about 880 B.C.; E used the name Elohim and was dated to about 770 B.C.; D was dated to 621 B.C.; P began in the exile and continued until the final redaction of the Hexateuch about 450 B.C.

Modifications of the "New Documentary Hypothesis"[32] came in the wake of archaeological discoveries and from the ranks of its strongest supporters, so that one speaks today of the "Newest Documentary Hypothesis" which subdivides the traditional sources and posits new ones. The J source is conceived to consist of J^1 and J^2.[33] J^1 is called "Lay Source" (L) by O. Eissfeldt (1965),[34] or "Nomad Source" (N) by G. Fohrer (1967).[35] Others posited a "Kenite Source" or K,[36] or a "Seir Source," or S.[37] O. Procksch (1906)[38] divided E into E^1 and E^2, and G. von Rad (1934)[39] argued in place of P for a P^A and P^B.

At the core of these hypotheses lay certain major presuppositions which were part and parcel of these methodological procedures: (1) There

[30]Eissfeldt, p. 164.

[31]Now republished in a fourth printing (May 1965), by the World Publishing Company of Cleveland.

[32]Fohrer, p. 109; Eissfeldt, pp. 164-66.

[33]R. Smend, *Die Erzählung des Hexateuch auf ihre Quellen untersucht* (1952).

[34]Eissfeldt, p. 169.

[35]Fohrer, p. 112.

[36]J. Morgenstern, "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," HUCA 9 (1927): 1-138.

[37]R. H. Pfeiffer, A Non-Israelite Source in the Book of Genesis," ZAW 48 (1930): 66-73.

[38]O. Procksch, *Das nordhebräische Sagenbuch. Die Elohimquelle* (Leipzig, 1906).

[39]G. von Rad, "The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch," in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (New York, 1966), pp. 1-78.

was a general scepticism regarding the historicity of narratives reporting noncontemporaneous events. (2) It is generally assumed that the ancient cultures and religions, including that of Israel, evolved gradually from primitive to advanced forms. (3) There was an a priori rejection of all supernatural activity with regard to the origin and formation of the faith and history of ancient Israel. (4) The various documents which finally were worked into the Pentateuch were assumed to be product of the life setting or historical circumstances of the communities which originated them. If one or all of these basic presuppositions are removed or changed, then the hypotheses resting upon them likewise are altered. In other words, hypotheses are bound to these presuppositions and cannot exist without them.

D. Reactions against Pentateuchal source criticism. Critical reactions against the new hypotheses have come from source critics who themselves no longer are satisfied with its claims and solutions, as well as from scholars who retain the literary unity and/or Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

(1) Critical reactions from within. Major attacks against the existence of an independent E source have come from among Pentateuchal source critics through the studies of P. Volz and W. Rudolph (1933)[40] and more recently from the Norwegian scholar S. Mowinckel (1964).[41] They argue that E represents but a new edition or redaction of J based on variants. M. Noth (1972) does not deny the existence of E, but considers it so fragmentary that little can be learned of its character.[42] The Swedish writer I. Engnell (1969),[43] on the other hand, suggests that the evidence points to the preliterary oral growth of a variety of ancient traditions rather than to literary documents as the source for the Pentateuchal material. Nevertheless, the majority of source critics consider E an independent source and assign it to a ninth-century date and a northern Israelite provenance.[44]

Until recently no critical scholar had questioned the existence of J, that is, the Yahwist who is variously regarded as author, editor, redactor, or a circle of tradition. However, two forceful broadsides have been fired against it by source-critical practitioners. In 1976 H. H. Schmid published his study[45] in which he argues that J has close affinities with Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomic history, and the later prophets. He demonstrates

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[40]P. Volz and W. Rudolph, *Der Elohist als Erzähler. Ein Irrweg der Pentateuch-Kritik? Aus der Genesis erlautert* (Berlin, 1933). See also W. Rudolph, *Der "Elohist" von Exodus bis Josua* (Berlin, 1938).
[41]S. Mowinckel, *Tetrateuch-Pentateuch-Hexateuch* (Oslo, 1964).
[42]M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch* (Göttingen, 1948).
[43]I. Engnell, "The Pentateuch," *A Rigid Scrutiny* (Nashville, 1969), pp. 50-67.
[44]R. E. Clements, "Pentateuchal Problems," *Tradition and Interpretation*, Essays by Members of the Society for Old Testament Study, ed. G. W. Anderson (Oxford, 1979), pp. 96-124.
[45]H. H. Schmid, *Der sogenannte Jahwist* (Zürich, 1976).

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the absurdities of Pentateuchal source criticism and argues that the accepted tenth century date of J has to be abandoned in favor of a date in the late seventh century B.C. A scholar at the University of Heidelberg, R. Rendtorff argues (1977)[46] that there was no E source, and he also questions the existence of the Yahwist (J). He does so by showing the internal inconsistencies of arguments in favor of the traditional four major sources of the Pentateuch. In addition, he attempts to demonstrate that the patriarchal narratives in Genesis form a larger unit within the Pentateuch. Rendtorff argues for a complex traditio-historical growth of the Pentateuch which in turn has its own difficulties and problems.

Nevertheless, the number of critical scholars that raise serious questions regarding Pentateuchal source criticism is growing. It should be noted in passing that the famous Jewish scholar Y. Kaufmann (1960),[47] who accepted the Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen synthesis of the Pentateuch, attempts to redate the sequence of J, E, D, and P by dating P early in the tenth century B.C. S. R. Kulling (1964), after studying the units assigned to P in Genesis, argues that they should all be dated to the second millennium B.C.[48]

(2) Critical reactions from without. Numerous scholars argue for the literary unity and/or the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Among the most important are W. H. Green,[49] J. Orr,[50] R. D. Wilson,[51] W. Möller,[52] D. B. McDonald,[53] B. Jacob,[54] G. A. Aalders,[55] E. J. Young,[56] K. Rabast,[57] I. Lewy,[58] P. J. Wiseman,[59] U. Cassuto,[60] G. L. Archer,

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[46]R. Rendtorff, *Das überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch* (Berlin, 1977).
[47]Y. Kaufmann, *The Origin of Israel* (Chicago, 1960).
[48]S. R. Külling, *Zur Datierung der "Genesis-P-Stücke"* (Kampen, 1964).
[49]W. H. Green, *The Unity of the Book of Genesis*, reprint (Grand Rapids, 1979); Id., *The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch* (Grand Rapids, 1978).
[50]J. Orr, *The Problem of the Pentateuch* (1909).
[51]R. D. Wilson, *A Scientific Investigation of the Old Testament* (1926).
[52]W. Möller, *Die Einheit und Echtheit der fünf Bücher Mosis* (Leipzig, 1931); Id., *Grundriss für Alttestamentliche Einleitung* (Berlin, 1958).
[53]D. B. McDonald, *The Hypoliterary Changes* (1933).
[54]B. Jacob, *Das erste Buch der Tora* (Berlin, 1934); Id., *Genesis* (New York, 1979).
[55]G. A. Aalders, *A Short Introduction to the Pentateuch* (Grand Rapids, 1949).
[56]Young, pp. 113-64.
[57]K. Rabast, *Die Genesis* (Berlin, 1951).
[58]I. Lewy, *The Court of the Pentateuch* (Grand Rapids, 1955).
[59]P. J. Wiseman, *New Discoveries in Babylonia About Genesis* (London, 1958).
[60]U. Cassuto, *The Documentary Hypothesis: The Composition of the Pentateuch* (Jerusalem, 1961).

Jr.,[61] M. H. Segal,[62] R. K. Harrison,[63] O. T. Allis,[64] and H. D. Hummel.[65] These and other scholars have given careful study to the internal arguments employed in Pentateuchal source criticism and have found them wanting.

(a) **Divine names.** Pentateuchal source criticism began by using various divine names (Elohim, Yahweh) as evidence for different sources and documents. Source critics, however, are inconsistent when it comes to this criterion, because J also uses the name Elohim and E also uses the name Yahweh. This inconsistency is said to be the work of redactors, but it does nonetheless throw doubt upon the objectivity of the procedure of using names as the basis for distinguishing sources.[66] In the Pentateuch the LXX exhibits a great variation of divine names (more than 120 instances) when compared with the Masoretic text,[67] so that the criterion of divine names is not a sure guide to sources, documents, or narrative strands. The manuscript finds at Qumran have demonstrated further that the main pillar of Pentateuchal source criticism is too weak to support the hypothesis. The famous Isaiah scroll from Qumran (1QIsa^a), eleven centuries older than the oldest Masoretic manuscript of Isaiah, from about 1000 A.D. demonstrates that in 16 passages (Isa 3:17; 6:11; 7:14; 9:7; 21:16; 25:9; 28:2, 22; 38:14; 40:7; 42:5; 49:22; 50:5; 52:4; 61:1, 11) the divine names[68] differ from the Masoretic text. This is conclusive evidence to demonstrate that divine names provide no basis for determining sources, authorship, or date.

At times divine names may have been used interchangeably, as may be seen from variations in ancient manuscripts.[69] There are also instances when specific divine names were chosen for specific purposes. For example, Genesis 1:1--2:4a employs Elohim, the generic name for deity, and reflects thereby the distant aspect of the Creator who is totally independent of the created world and man; whereas in Genesis 2:4b-25, the dual name Yahweh Elohim is employed which introduces the personal name Yahweh and reflects the close relationship between God and man for which the personal name is particularly suitable. The usage of multiple terms for deity is known also, for example, in Ugaritic,[70] Egyptian (stela of Ikherno-

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[61]G. L. Archer, Jr., pp. 73ff.

[62]M. H. Segal, *The Pentateuch* (Jerusalem, 1967).

[63]R. K. Harrison, pp. 544-600.

[64]O. T. Allis, *The Old Testament: Its Claims and Its Critics* (Philadelphia, 1972).

[65]H. D. Hummel, *The Word Becoming Flesh* (St. Louis, 1979).

[66]Green, *The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch* (1895), pp. 88-106.

[67]J. Dahse, AER 6 (1903): 305-319; H. M. Wiener, *Pentateuchal Studies* (1912), chap. 9.

[68]See 5BC 160-63.

[69]So in Judges 13:8-9; 15:18-19; 16:28; 18:5-6; 20:18; 1 Kings 3:5, 11; 5:9; 8:27; etc. There are also instances when specific divine names were chosen for specific purposes.

[70]J. B. Pritchard, ed., Ancient Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament (Princeton, NJ, 1955), p. 134 (hereafter cited as ANET).

fret),[71] and Babylonian (Lipit-Ishtar laws),[72] (Code of Hammurapi),[73] all literature from the second millennium B.C. So far no reputable scholar has attempted to delineate literary sources, redactors, or an oral pre-history in these Near Eastern documents on the basis of different names for deity.[74]

(b) **Variations in language and style.** Supporters of Pentateuchal source criticism from Witter and Astruc to S. E. McEvenue (1971)[75] and C. Westermann (1982)[76] have time and again pointed to variations in language and style as they manifest themselves in the usage of vocabulary, grammatical forms, and diction in general. No one denies that a given biblical book may manifest variations in style and language. The crucial issue is how one accounts for these variations. Source critics conclude that these variations are evidence for different source documents, narrative strands, or fragments. The underlying assumption in each instance is that an author employs only one particular style and that variation therefore points to different authorship and place of origin.

The assumption of uniformity of language and style for each author cannot be sustained even on critical grounds. There is ample evidence from the present and the past that an author may use as many of styles and linguistic variations as are deemed desirable for his aims and purposes. Since there are no objective citeria or controls for determining distinctive linguistic and stylistic characteristics of an author, the assigning of sources or narrative strands on the basis of variations in language and style is an exercise in imaginative subjectivity.

Double names (like Israel/Jacob, Jethro/Reuel, Ishmaelites/Midianites, or Canaanites/Amorites) for persons or populations are known to have existed not only in the Pentateuch but also in Egyptian, Ugaritic, and Hittite texts.[77] Similar examples are known for names of places (like Sinai/Horeb) from Egypt and Babylonia. Even external control data from Mesopotamian, Ugaritic, Hittite, and Egyptian literature confirm that variations of this kind do not demonstrate independent sources or strata as claimed by historical critics.[78] One may note also that the variation of the first person singular pronoun in Hebrew, ʾanî/ʾanōkî, is found likewise in an Ugaritic text on three tablets, just as in Hebrew.[79]

This and other linguistic usages and stylistic variations cannot serve as

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[71]ANET, pp. 329-30.

[72]ANET, p. 159.

[73]ANET, pp. 164-65.

[74]K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* (Downers Grove, IL, 1966), pp. 121-27.

[75]S. E. McEvenue, *The Narrative Style of the Priestly Writer* (Rome, 1971).

[76]C. Westermann, *Genesis* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1974).

[77]Kitchen, pp. 123-27.

[78]Kitchen, "Egypt," *The New Bible Dictionary, Revised* (London, 1967), pp. 348-49.

[79]C. H. Gordon, UT, vol. 2 (1965), tablets 49, 51, 67.

objective criteria for distinguishing sources or traditions.[80] The author of the Pentateuch uses such devices for the sake of variation, emphasis, identity, and the like. For example, the variation of Sinai and Horeb may be explained by considering Horeb the mountain range and Sinai the specific peak in that mountain range upon which God gave the law to Moses.

(c) **Supposed doublets and repetitions.** From the beginning, source critics have considered the occurrence of supposed double narratives or doublets together with repetitions as key evidence for a diversity of sources or traditions. Prime examples are the two alleged double accounts of Creation (Gen 1:1—2:4a; 2:4b-25), the Flood (Gen 6-9), and the repetitions of the experience of the matriarchs Sarah and Rebekah (Gen 12:10-20; 20:1-18; 26:7-11). A number of scholars have examined these and other supposed doublets and repetitions[81] and have shown that their presence in the Pentateuch provides no evidence for sources or traditions. This has forced a higher critic of the stature of C. Westermann to concede in his monumental commentary on Genesis 1-12 that the criterion of doublets and repetitions can no longer be employed as an "absolute criterion"; that is, "one can no longer draw the conclusion that on the basis of the appearance of doublets alone two literary sources are present."[82]

The alleged double account of Creation (Genesis 1:1—2:4a is assigned to P and 2:4b-25 to J) actually is not a doublet at all. Genesis 1:1—2:4a reports the Creation in six literal days of the world in its totality, including its atmospheric heavens. It concludes with the institution of the seventh-day Sabbath in which God as the divine Exemplar set the pattern for man's weekly Sabbath rest. Genesis 2:4b-25 does not repeat the creation of the whole world in all its parts and thus is not a doublet of Genesis 1:1—2:4a. Instead, it is related to the former through a complementary relationship, by singling out man, whose creation and garden home are described in specific detail. There is no incompatible duplication. The origin of man in his perfect environment is given broad strokes in Genesis 1; whereas in Genesis 2 it is described comprehensively. The principle of complementation with additional details and amplifications typical of Hebrew literature is employed here. The proper equivalent in English for the first verb in Genesis 2:19 (waw-consecutive-imperfect) is the pluperfect, to be rendered as ". . . had formed. . . ."[83] This removes the artificial difficulty of sequence. The long sentence in 2:4b-7 describes the condition of the earth before rain fell and man cultivated the ground. But it hardly describes another beginning of the world in contradiction to Genesis 1:1-3. Thus, the creation of the world is presupposed in 2:4b-7 and is described in a condition different from the post-fall and post-diluvian situation.

Source critics usually point to the Flood narrative (Gen 6-9) as a classic case of a double account from separate sources. It is said that in Genesis 6:19-20 Noah is commanded to take a single pair of every kind of animal into the ark; whereas in 7:2 he is asked to take seven pairs of clean beasts and only one pair of the unclean. This supposed indication of double sources does not constitute an irreconcilable contradiction, nor does it demonstrate proof for multiple sources. In 6:19-20 the dual form $s^e nayim$ is used and although usually translated "two of every kind" actually stands for a collective of "pairs."[84] It is but a general statement, while 7:2 provides the specifics of numerical detail.[85] The repetition of $s^e nayim$ in 7:15 is to be understood as "pairs after pairs." Thus, a general statement that pairs of animals are to be taken into the ark (6:19-20) is followed by the specific instruction of numerical detail regarding these "pairs" of clean and unclean beasts (7:2). Finally, it is reported that these animals came pairs after pairs into the ark (7:15).[86]

The supposed contradictions in the differing lengths of the Flood and in the origin of the water are also non-existent without a prior assumption of different sources. The biblical Flood narrative has an internal self-consistency in these aspects. The conclusion of the famous American Orientalist A. Heidel can stand without qualification; namely, "There is here no discrepancy whatever."[87] The inconsistencies of the source analyses of the Flood narrative in Genesis have been demonstrated by scholars of different schools of thought.[88] It is safe to conclude that this example of Pentateuchal source criticism does not stand up without the prior assumption of sources. Even then the source critical arguments lack force because there are many features that do not fit their hypothetical patterns.

We may note that not all alleged doublets and repetitions are indeed doublets and repetitions. Nevertheless, repetitions occur in Hebrew literature. These are not necessarily by logical connections with other ideas, but at times for emphasis' sake, as complementation, in order to expand, for the sake of memorizing, or in order to influence the reader's will.[89] Each

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[80]W. J. Martin, *Stylistic Criteria and the Analysis of the Pentateuch* (1955); U. Cassuto, pp. 42-54; Segal, pp. 14-19.

[81]G. A. Aalders, pp. 43-54; Oswald Allis, *The Five Books of Moses*, 2nd ed. (Phillipsburg, NJ, 1949), pp. 94-110, 118-23; Cassuto, pp. 69-83; Segal, pp. 32-34; etc.

[82]C. Westermann, p. 772.

[83]Green, *The Unity of the Book of Genesis*, p. 28; Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament*, pp. 118-19, and n. 19 with examples from Exodus 4:19; 19:2; Joshua 2:22; 1 Kings 13:12; Isaiah 37:5.

[84]Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament*, p. 120.

[85]Martin, pp. 15-16.

[86]Gerhard F. Hasel, *Understanding the Living Word of God* (Mountain View, CA, 1980), pp. 48-49.

[87]Alexander Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1949), p. 247.

[88]U. Cassuto, *La Questione della Genesi* (Rome, 1934), pp. 335-53; E. Nielsen, *Oral Tradition* (Philadelphia, 1954), pp. 97-103; F. Derek Kidner, *Genesis* (Downers Grove, IL, 1968), pp. 97-100; R. E. Longacre, "The Discourse Structure of the Flood Narrative," *SBL Seminar Papers* (Missoula, MT, 1976), pp. 235-62.

[89]J. Muilenburg, "A Study in Hebrew Rhetoric: Repetition and Style,"

repetition must be studied carefully within its own context, in order not to impose modern categories upon Scripture.

Before leaving our discussion of the Flood narrative, we should address two issues indirectly related to source criticism. With the publication of the Babylonian flood story in 1872, the question of the dependence of the Genesis Flood narrative upon that of the Gilgamesh Epic (Tablet XI) arose. During the period of the pan-Babylonian school at the beginning of this century and the Bible versus Babel controversy,[90] it was claimed that the biblical Flood story was dependent upon Babylonian sources.

In the course of time it became clear that there are at least three major Babylonian flood stories--the Gilgamesh Epic, the Erra Epic, and the Atrahasis Epic. They are said to antedate the Genesis Flood narrative and reveal that there are different and inconsistent traditions in Babylonian literature about a flood. Furthermore, there is a Sumerian flood story.[91] The discoveries at Ebla (Tell Mardikh) also have yielded a partial flood story.[92] Whereas in the past a direct relationship between the Gilgamesh Epic and the Flood narrative in Genesis was claimed, with both going back to a common source,[93] recent scholarship is more cautious, no longer arguing that the Babylonian flood traditions are reflected in Genesis.[94] In fact the moral motivation for the Flood, the elevated view of God, the mercy manifested in the salvation of the remnant of antediluvian mankind, and other emphases put the Genesis Flood narrative in a class by itself when compared with other flood stories known from the ancient world.

It has been argued that the historicity of the Flood is attested by flood stories the world over in different cultures and continents. Most of these flood stories agree that only a few men survived, that an ark was employed for survival, and that the catastrophe was universal. The universal extent of the Flood, encompassing the whole world, is stated explicitly in Genesis. The term "earth" (*eres) occurs by itself or in the phrase "upon the face of all the earth" (Gen 7:3; 8:9) a total of 46 times in Genesis 6:5—9:17.

It is correct that *eres can have the more limited meaning of "land" indicating geographical and political limitations. The term also may convey the meaning "ground" (cf. Exod 8:12-13; Amos 3:5; etc.). The decision as to its meaning in a specific instance must be determined by its context and/or genitival connections.

Local flood theorists have pointed to phrases such as "the whole land

VTSup 1 (1953): 97-111.

[90]H. F. Hahn, *The Old Testament in Modern Research* (Philadelphia, 1966), pp. 83-92.

[91]G F. Hasel, *The Remnant: The History and Theology of the Remnant Idea From Genesis to Isaiah*, 3rd ed. (Berrien Springs, MI, 1972), pp. 69-87.

[92]D. N. Freedman, "The Real Story of the Ebla Tablets: Ebla and the Cities of the Plain," BA 41 (1978): 147.

[93]Heidel, pp. 260-69.

[94]D. O. Edzard, "Gilgamesh," *Reallexikon für Assyriologie*, eds. F. Ebeling and G. Meissner (Leipzig, Berlin, 1932ff.), 5:537ff.

of Havilah" (Gen 2:11), or Cush (2:13), or the "land of Canaan" (11:31), Egypt (13:10), Moriah (22:2) in which *eres is used in restricted geographical or political senses, in order to prove that the Genesis Flood account intends to convey the idea of a local event. However such commentators have overlooked the fact that each of these instances is followed by the genitive, which always is present when *eres is employed in the OT in a limited sense. None of the 46 usages of *eres in the Genesis Flood narrative is followed by a genitive, in this way indicating the universal meaning of this term.

The adjective "all" that qualifies *eres in Genesis 7:3 and 8:9 further emphasizes the universal or worldwide flood idea presented in Genesis. Just as man was created to have dominion over the creatures of "all the earth" (Gen 1:26) which is the entire world, so the waters now cover "the face of all the earth" (8:9; cf. 7:3). Note also that in all three instances the expression "face of the ground" (7:4, 23; 8:8, 13), meaning the surface of the dry land of the whole world, is used in parallel with the universalistic expression "all the earth."

The phrase "all flesh" appears in 12 instances in the Flood narrative with "all" in a genitival construction with the indeterminate noun "flesh," which, according to Hebrew syntax, communicates totality. In Genesis 7:15 this noun is determinative, that is, it is used with the article, and thus expresses entirety. Therefore the ideas of totality and entirety are joined to that of universality.[95]

Further support is evident in the phrase "every living thing" (7:23) which again expresses entirety, as does the phrase "under the whole heaven" (7:19). Commentators have noted correctly that the statement that the waters covered "all the high mountains under the whole heaven" (7:19) asserts or proves the universality of the Flood as a worldwide event (for example, F. Delitzsch, J. Skinner, C. Westermann). The universalistic language and the specific syntactical constructions in the Hebrew text unambiguously emphasizes a universal flood that destroyed all human, animal, and bird life on the entire land mass of the globe. This emphasis is in harmony with the context of the history of beginnings in Genesis 1-11 which shares the same emphasis on totality, entirety, and universalism.[96]

(d) Alleged contradictions. It has been customary to speak of contradictions, discrepancies, and divergencies when comparing the supposed narrative strands of J, E, and P.[97] This is said to apply particularly to the conception of God present in these three alleged strands (H. H. Rowley, et al.). J is reported to have a different conception of God, one with typical anthropomorphisms (see Genesis 2:4b-25). For P God is a Being of tran-

[95]See G. F. Hasel, "Some Issues Regarding the Nature and Universality of the Genesis Flood Narrative," *Origins* 5 (1978): 83-93.

[96]See G. F. Hasel, "The Fountains of the Great Deep," *Origins* 1 (1974): 67-72.

[97]John H. Hayes, *Introduction to Old Testament Study* (Nashville, 1979), pp. 17-180.

scendent dignity and power whose word suffices to bring about a creative act (Gen 1:1—2:4a).[98]

It is correct that not all conceptions of God in the Pentateuch or in other parts of the Bible are entirely identical, nor should they be. Rather than claiming that different conceptions of God reflect different sources, as source critics hold, other scholars have demonstrated that the alleged contradictions are not an absolute criterion for discovering sources.[99] They are rather to be viewed as an emphasis upon different but complementary aspects of the same God being presented. In Genesis 1, for example, the sublime picture of the Creator who brings about everything in totally effortless creative acts emphasizes His independent existence and transcendence. This argues forcefully against Creation by battle, as in Mesopotamian and Canaanite myth and against pantheism or emanationism of any kind.[100]

In Genesis 2 God is depicted in more personal ways with special attributes that are in harmony with His Lordship of mankind in communication with the human family. These and other conceptions of Deity define His relationship to the world and man but are not correctly understood in opposition to each other.[101] The totality of Scriptural evidence, containing God's self-revelation, allows us to grasp the full conceptions and complementary characteristics of the biblical God.

It has also been noted that there is no contradiction whatever between Moses' question, "What is his name?" (Exod 3:13) and the statement, "I am Yahweh. I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, as God Almighty, but by my name Yahweh I did not make myself known to them" (6:2-3), on the one hand and the fact that on the other hand the name Yahweh was known to Abraham (Gen 12:8; 15:2, 8; 18:14), Lot (19:13), Sarah (16:2), Isaac (26:24), Jacob (28:13; 32:9), and Laban (24:31). God actually is represented as saying to Abraham, "I am Yahweh" (Gen 15:7). It is explicitly affirmed that in the days of Seth, the son of Adam, "men began to call upon the name of Yahweh" (Gen 4:26). Eve uses the name Yahweh at the time of the birth of her first son (Gen 4:1).

The biblical picture is clear. The name Yahweh is known by the first family on earth. From the time of Seth onward Yahweh was worshiped (Gen 4:26). The patriarchs Abraham (14:22; 15:7, 8; 24:48), Isaac (26:24; 27:20), and Jacob (28:13; 32:9) knew God by the name Yahweh and worshiped in His name.

Moses' question, "What is his name?" (Exod 3:13) does not imply that

[98]Westermann, pp. 768-77.

[99]S. Mowinckel, P. Volz, W. Rudolph, B. Jacob, U. Cassuto, *Documentary Hypothesis*, pp. 15-41; M. H. Segal, "El, Elohim, YHWH in the Bible," *JQR* 46 (1955): 89-115.

[100]D. F. Payne, *Genesis One Reconsidered* (London, 1968); Kidner, p. 45; Hasel, *Understanding the Living Word of God*, pp. 120-29.

[101]G. H. Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh: The Divine Name in the Bible* (Waterloo, Ontario, 1975).

the name Yahweh was unknown, because the intent of the question as gathered from the answer is not the revelation of the name itself, but the revelation of the nature and meaning of the name which comes to expression in the divine answer, "I AM WHO I AM" (vs. 14).

The intent of the divine statement in Exodus 6:3, "I appeared to Abraham, . . . as God Almighty, but by my name Yahweh I did not make myself known to them," does not deny that the name as such was known. It reveals that the fullness of God's nature and the total meaning of His name was not yet manifest. It would express itself more fully through divine redemptive activity in the Exodus deliverance and beyond. Such manifestation of the name of Yahweh and His nature would include both the freeing of enslaved Israel and molding them into a nation with whom God would enter into an intimate covenant relationship (Exod 6:6-9).

Some have concluded that the divine name was known from the beginning, but its full nature and meaning was revealed later through divine self-revelation and in the ensuing redemptive activity of Yahweh.[102] As understood within its given Pentateuchal settings, a harmonious, self-consistent picture is recognizable when the various statements about the name of Yahweh are studied within their given contexts. The Pentateuch makes a clear claim for continuity of the faith from the first human family via the patriarchs to later Israel. Any reconstruction that denies this continuity is not faithful to the given biblical evidence.

(e) Alleged anachronisms.

(i) Aramaisms. The Hebrew language, as other ancient and modern languages, contains loanwords--words borrowed from one language by another. A sister language to Hebrew is Aramaic which frequently is described as being as close to Hebrew as Portuguese is to Spanish. Hebrew contains various alleged loanwords from Aramaic. The Aramaic influence on Hebrew was believed to have come at least as late as the Babylonian exile. On the basis of alleged loanwords and so-called Aramaic sentence structures scholars attempted to date the Hebrew parts in which these Aramaic influences appeared. On these grounds certain parts of the OT were dated much later than Biblical criteria would indicate.[103]

The influx of Aramaic texts, the study of Semitic languages, and a refinement of the methods of comparative Semitics has led the British Orientalist K. A. Kitchen to conclude that the occurrence of Aramaisms in the OT "often indicates an early, not a late, date."[104] It is known that the Aramaeans of the second millennium wrote in Canaanite dialects rather

[102]See for example, Segal, *The Pentateuch*, pp. 4-14.

[103]M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebraisch* (Berlin, 1966); J. Barr, "Semitic Philology," *Tradition and Interpretation*, p. 61, notes "but many identifications (of Hebrew words coming from Aramaic) continue to be disputed." See also M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the Old Testament: Their Origin and Etymology* (London, 1962).

[104]K. A. Kitchen, "Aram," *The New Bible Dictionary: Revised*, p. 58.

than in their own language. At present the earliest Aramaic inscriptions come from the ninth century B.C. The identification of persons as Aramaean (Gen 25:20; Deut 26:5; etc.) should not surprise us because Ugaritic texts from the middle of the second millennium B.C. contain various Aramaic words and expressions, indicating the spread of Aramaeans already at that time. The word "Aram" is attested in an Akkadian inscription of Naram-Sin, dated to the twenty-third century B.C. and again later during the reign of Ammisaduqa (First Dynasty of Babylon). A Ugaritic text mentions the "fields of Aram(aeans)." These and other evidences are used by scholars to indicate the early appearance of Aramaeans.[105]

Scholars have observed many different problems when it comes to dating OT texts or books by genuine or so-called Aramaisms. A few examples may be illustrative of some of the problems. In Leviticus 7:35 the term $mi\check{s}\bar{a}h$, "measure, measurement," appears. It is said to be an Aramaism because it appears in the Aramaic Elephantine papyri[106] dated to the fifth century B.C. On this basis it is argued that the entire P stratum to which Leviticus 7:35 supposedly belongs is to be dated to the Persian period.[107] The fact is that this Hebrew term appears also in the Akkadian language as $mi\check{s}ihtu$[108] so that it could have entered the Hebrew through the earlier Akkadian. Since the noun is attested in Hebrew, Akkadian, Aramaic, and Arabic, it is no longer certain that it is an Aramaism in the Bible. It is more likely that the words in the respective Semitic languages are derivatives of the common Semitic root $m\check{s}h$ ("to measure") and that they entered each language independently. At any rate in this instance it is not at all certain that it is an Aramaism. Accordingly, the dating procedure is dubious.

Other recent investigations have indicated that great caution is indicated in the usage of Aramaisms for dating purposes.[109] It can be demonstrated, as indicated above, that a great number of so-called Aramaisms actually are West Semitic terms found in various languages from early times. Some telling examples are found in the book of Jonah. In Jonah 1:5 the term $malla\dot{h}$ ("sailor") was thought to be an Aramaism and therefore a late date was indicated. But it is actually an Akkadian term which is itself a Sumerian loanword.[110] The term $s^e p\bar{i}n\bar{a}h$ ("ship" [with a deck]) in Jonah 1:5 is also said to be an Aramaism, but it is also attested in Akkadian as

$sap\bar{i}natu$,[111] where it had entered, as in Hebrew and Aramaic, as a term of Phoenician origin[112] at an early time.[113]

Recent scholarship holds that the occurrence of Aramaisms, if they are genuine, can be expected from early times because Aramaean penetration was well under way at least from the time of the Amarna Age onward when Aramaeans penetrated Syria. In the Amarna letters the Aramaeans are referred to by the designation $Ahlam\hat{u}$. Therefore, the Pentateuchal and later biblical records are in complete harmony with what is known about them from contemporary records.

(ii) **Hittites in the Pentateuch.** Expressions such as "Hittites" (Gen 15:20; Exod 3:8; 13:5; 23:23, 28; 33:2; 34:11; Num 13:29; Deut 7:1; 20:17) or "Hittite" (Gen 23:10; 25:9; 26:34; 36:2; 49:29; 50:13) in the Pentateuch refer to an ethnic group in Palestine in the patriarchal age or the Exodus period. Wherever personal names are supplied with the designation "Hittite," it means either they have been Semitized, for none of their personal names can as yet be satisfactorily explained as Hurrian or Indo-European,[114] or that they adopted Semitic names in Palestine, just as there is evidence for sudden changes of personal names from Ebla.[115] Since historically the term "Hittite" can carry at least four different connotations,[116] it may also be that "Hittite(s)" refers to the Hattians, or a branch of Indo-Europeans that inhabited central Asia Minor. The suggestion assumes that some migrated to Syria-Palestine and adopted Semitic names. It has been suggested that the "Hittites" of the conquest period may be associated with or identified with the Indo-European Hittites of Asia Minor that penetrated Syria and Mesopotamia in the first half of the second millennium, establishing vassal states there.[117]

Recent research and archaeological discoveries have demonstrated that Hittites existed long before the patriarchs and that the appearance of the designation "Hittite(s)" is no anachronism in the Pentateuch.

(iii) **Philistines in patriarchal times.** The earliest reference to "Philistines" appears in connection with Abraham (Gen 21:32-34; 26:1, 8, 14-18). According to ancient records, a Philistine invasion of Palestine took place in the thirteenth/twelfth century B.C.[118] Since the patriarchal

[105]Kitchen, Ancient Orient and Old Testament, pp. 145-46.

[106]Emil G. Kraeling, ed., *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri: New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. From the Jewish Colony at Elephantine*, vol. 3 (New York, 1953), no. 4, p. 12; no. 9, p. 11; no. 12, p. 28.

[107]See B. A. Levine, "Priestly Writers," IDB, Supp. (1976), p. 685.

[108]*Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, ed. A. Leo Oppenheim. vol. M/II (Chicago, 1967), pp. 122-23.

[109]A. Hurvitz, "The Chronological Significance of 'Aramaism' in Biblical Hebrew," IEJ 18 (1968): 234-40; Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament*, pp. 145-46.

[110]A. Salonen, *Nautica Babylonia* (Helsinki, 1942), pp. 10-12.

[111]W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden, 1965), p. 1027.

[112]O. Loretz, "Herkunft und Sinn der Jona-Erzählung," BZ, vol. 5 (1961), no. 32, p. 23.

[113]Gerhard F. Hasel, *Jonah: Messenger of the Eleventh Hour* (Mountain View, CA, 1976), pp. 95-97.

[114]H. A. Hoffner, "The Hittites and the Hurrians," *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, ed. D. J. Wiseman (New York, 1973), pp. 197-228.

[115]Hasel, *Understanding the Living Word of God*, pp. 132-35.

[116]Hoffner, pp. 213-21.

[117]Ibid.

[118]T. Dothan, "What We Know About the Philistines," BARev 8 (1982): 20-44.

chronology precedes this time, these allusions often have been regarded as anachronisms and evidence for late authorship.

It should be noted, however, that Caphtor, home of the Philistines according to the Bible, is now identified firmly as Crete on the basis of topographical information from Amen-ophis III (ca. 1400 B.C.). Cretan pottery associated with the Philistines has been discovered in Palestine in cities of the patriarchal age, giving indirect evidence for Cretans, probably Philistines, in Palestine. In addition, the Philistines of the patriarchal age do not correspond with those known from about 1200 B.C. on, because the former lived under a king and were relatively peaceful despite having an army commander. Genesis 26:26 shows assimilation of foreigners to a Semitic culture, as is known later with Philistines in Palestine.[119]

The fact that the Philistines of the patriarchal age were ready to make treaties indicates that they were not as powerful as those in later migrations. Patriarchal narratives and archaeology are therefore in agreement that some Philistines arrived in Palestine centuries before the great invasions known from history.[120]

(iv) Territorial and place names. The "land of Rameses" (Gen 47:11) and the "store-city" by the name "Rameses" (Exod 1:11) is usually said to be named after Rameses II (ca. 1304-1238 or 1290-1224 B.C.) of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Accordingly, its mention in Genesis 47:11 is understood as an anachronism and an evidence for a thirteenth century date for the Exodus in Exodus 1:11.[121] It should be observed that this identification is problematical.[122] The summer residence and capital known by the name Per-Ramesse (Pr-R^{c}mśśw = "House of Ramesse") built by Rameses II in the northeastern Delta does not fit the Exodus 1:11 identification of a "store-city."[123] According to a recent discovery the name Rameses was known as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty, carried by a nobleman in the reign of Amenhotep (Amenophis) III, about 1417-1379 B.C.,[124] giving us an example in the fifteenth century B.C.--the time of Moses and the Exodus. The store-city of Rameses in the fifteenth century corresponds to the data of

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[119]See K. A. Kitchen, "The Philistines," *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, pp. 56-57.

[120]J. C. Moyer, "Philistines," *The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible*, ed. M. C. Tenney (Grand Rapids, 1977), 4:767-73; J. J. Bimson, *Redating the Exodus and Conquest* (Sheffield, 1978), pp. 92-96.

[121]See the recent commentaries by J. P. Hyatt, *Commentary on Exodus* (London, 1971), p. 56; B. S. Childs, *Exodus, A Commentary* (London, 1974), p. 7.

[122]See W. H. Shea, "Date of the Exodus," *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, ed. G. W. Bromiley, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, 1982), vol. 2, pp. 230-32.

[123]Heb. *aremisk^{e}not*, most likely an Akkadian loanword from *maskanatu/maskattu*, "place of deposit, depot," see AHW, p. 627.

[124]See G. L. Archer, "An Eighteenth Dynasty Rameses," JETS 17 (1974): 45-50.

an earlier time--when Joseph was instructed to store food (Gen 41:47-48).[125] Hence the territory and place named after Rameses appear to refer to persons carrying this name before Rameses II chose it as a throne name. Scholars have shown that this issue is no longer the kind of problem it was thought to be in the past.

The city of Dan (Gen 14:14; Deut 34:1) usually is identified with Laish, or Leshem, its name until the time of the Judges (Josh 19:47; Judg 18:29). The appearance of this place name in the Pentateuch may be explained either as an updating of an obsolete place name by later copyists or possibly by a yet unknown place called Dan. In any case, it does not necessarily represent an anachronism.[126]

(v) Camels in patriarchal times. Several patriarchal narratives from Abraham's time on mention camels (Gen 12:16; 24 [15 times]; 30:43; 31:17, 34; 32:7, 15; 37:25). Some consider such references to be anachronisms,[127] since it was thought generally that domestication of camels did not take place until after the second millennium B.C.[128] However, a limestone receptacle shaped in the form of a camel, complete with a load, has been discovered from the First Dynasty of Egypt.[129] An even earlier clay figurine of a camel has come from a predynastic tomb at Abusir el-Meleg. Representations of camels, in the form of figurines and on seals, are known from the earliest historical period of Erech and from the Ur III level at Eshnunna (ca. 2000 B.C.).

A camel figurine from the eighteenth century was discovered at Byblos in Syria and one from the fifteenth century at Gezer. Written references to camels appear in Alalakh, Syria, from the eighteenth century.[130] There is also reference to a camel in a nineteenth century text from Ugarit.[131] The available evidence demonstrates that camels were used by man long before the second millennium. The sporadic references to camels in patriarchal times fit the archaeological evidence very well and pose no difficulty once the evidence is known.

(vi) Iron in pre-patriarchal and patriarchal times. Scholars often have taken exception to the mention of iron in certain parts of the Pentateuch (Gen 4:22; Deut 3:11; 8:9). Charges of anachronisms were made

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[125]Shea, p. 237; for another suggestion, see Bimson, p. 244.

[126]See Siegfried H. Horn, ed., *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Dictionary*, rev. ed. (Washington, DC, 1979), p. 262; Bimson, pp. 206-210.

[127]W. F. Albright, ARI (Garden City, NJ, 1969), pp. 94-95, 129-31, et al.

[128]See the new investigations on the domestication of camels in the Ancient World. R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, vol. 2: "The Coming of the Camel" (1955), pp. 187-203; F. F. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals* (1963), pp. 341-52; R. Walz, "Neue Untersuchungen zum Domestikationsproblem der altweltlichen Cameliden," ZDMG (1954), pp. 45-87.

[129]See n. 126 and the article cited by Zeuner.

[130]D. J. Wiseman, in JCS 13 (1959): 29; A. Goetze, in JCS, 13 (1959): 37.

[131]W. G. Lambert, in BASOR 160 (1960): 42-43.

becau~se~ the Iron Age is dated to have begun only in the twelfth century B.C.[132] Modern archaeology has brought to light iron objects in the form of tools, implements, weapons, and jewelry from predynastic and early dynastic Egypt.

In Mesopotamia iron objects were discovered in the ruins of Ur, Tell Chagar Bazar, Tell Asmar, and Mari from the third millennium B.C.

Literary evidence for iron is particularly rich from the time of Hammurabi (eighteenth century B.C.). Early evidence for iron in Anatolia comes in the form of a sword from Alca Huyu, near Ankara, from about 2400-2100 B.C. In Syria-Palestine iron jewelry and weapons are known from Byblos and Ugarit as early as about 1825 and 1600-1500 B.C. respectively. This material, along with literary evidence, indicates conclusively that iron was known and used long before the time of the patriarchs and Moses, and corroborates the mention of iron in pre-patriarchal and patriarchal times in the Pentateuch.[133]

Individuals who share the conviction of the supreme authority and trustworthiness of the inspired Scripture are deeply gratified that vast arrays of extrabiblical evidence confirm and corroborate various statements of historical and cultural kinds in Scripture. In addition, the social, economic, political, and religious backgrounds of the Bible have been illuminated by archaeological research.

The simplistic notion that archaeology, or any science for that matter, can prove the Bible or its truth is without sound footing. The Scripture's truth rests inherently upon its own claims and needs no proof from any of the sciences. The fact that scientific data, including that of archaeologists, stands in need of interpretation, as is the case with any other data, must never be forgotten.

It should not be surprising that archaeological data have been, are, and will be interpreted in ways contradictory to the Bible, depending on the interpreter's or scientist's starting point, premises, hypotheses adopted, and the school of thought represented. Nevertheless, it is to be noted with gratitude that the discoveries and results of over a century of archeological work have served as a powerful counterforce against certain scholarly speculations and excesses in the development of various historical-critical hypotheses.

(f) Authorship of the Pentateuch. Upon careful consideration of the Pentateuchal data and all the evidence, both internal and external, the conclusion remains all but irresistible that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch. Among the witnesses to Mosaic authorship are the following: (1) Biblical testimony from the Pentateuch (cf. Exod 17:14; 24:4, 7; 34:27; Num 33:1-2; Deut 31:9-11), from other OT books (cf. Josh 1:8; 8:31-32; 1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 14:6; 21:8; Ezra 6:18; Neh 13:1; Dan 9:11-13; Mal 4:4), and

from the NT (cf. Matt 19:8; John 5:46-47; 7:19; Acts 3:22; Rom 10:15; etc.) points in the single direction of Mosaic authorship. (2) Internal evidence of the Pentateuch reveals (a) eyewitness details (cf. Exod 15:27; Num 11:7-8); (b) thorough acquaintance with Egypt as reflected in names of places and persons and a great number of Egyptian terms; (c) Egyptian or Sinaitic flora, fauna, climatic information, and geography; (d) desert life as reflected in Exodus through Numbers and not agricultural life as expected after the settlement; (e) archaic customs known only from the second millennium but not from later times; and (f) linguistic features of an archaic nature. All these features fit Mosaic authorship remarkably, but cannot be harmonized with hypotheses of historical-critical scholarship. If Moses, who is eminently qualified on the basis of his background, training, and role as founding leader of ancient Israel, was not the author of the Pentateuch, then one greater than Moses must be the author. Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch may be considered affirmed.[134]

Source Criticism of the Book of Isaiah

1. Pre-critical period. Jewish and Christian tradition has held that Isaiah was the author of the 66 chapters of the book attributed to him. The ambiguous statement in the Talmud that "Hezekiah and his company wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, ..."[135] has been understood to mean that they "published" the collection of prophecies incorporated in these books. Ibn Ezra (A.D. 1092-1167), the Jewish commentator, refers to Moses ben Samuel Ibn-Gekatilla (ca. A.D. 110) who reportedly argues that Isaiah 40-66 comes from the postexilic period.[136]

Some have argued that Ibn Ezra himself suggested this in veiled language, but the extant manuscript is corrupted. Scholars have noted that it cannot be conjectured that he held this view himself. Present evidence indicates that Isaiah was considered generally to be the author of his book by Jews and Christians alike until the eighteenth century of the Christian era.

2. Critical period. The critical period regarding the literary history and unity of Isaiah began in the last decades of the eighteenth century. J. G. Eichhorn, the German rationalist who helped establish the historical-critical approach to the OT, was the first to argue that Isaiah 40-66 came from an unknown exilic prophet.[137] This conclusion followed in the wake of J. S. Semler's (1771-1775) rejection of the inspiration of the Bible and the canon of Scripture. The destructive influences of rationalism were also

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[132]F. V. Winnett, "Iron," IDB, 2:725-26.

[133]For detailed information, see G. F. Hasel, "Iron," *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, ed. G. W. Bromiley, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, 1982), vol. 2, pp. 880-82.

[134]*Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary* 1:201-4, 191-93, 693-96, 953-54. See also the article by H. C. Leupold, "Genesis," *The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, 1975), 2:680-81.

[135]*Baba Bathra* 15a, as quoted by Young, p. 202.

[136]Young, p. 203.

[137]J. G. Eichhor... *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Leipzig, 1783): 3:76-97.

at work in the third edition of the influential commentary on Isaiah by J. C. Döderlein (1789).[138] The latter argued on rationalistic grounds that an Isaiah of the eighth century could neither foresee two centuries ahead to the fall of Jerusalem and the exile nor could he have foretold the rise of Cyrus 150 years before he appeared on the scene of history. Accordingly, Doderlein also argued that later writers were responsible for these and other parts in the book of Isaiah. Within the philosophical milieu of the time these critical views found ready acceptance. These beginnings of source criticism as applied to the book of Isaiah reveal once again how supernaturalism gave way to naturalism, and how the Bible was considered a human production to be investigated like any other piece of literature.

The famous Semiticist Wilhelm Gesenius (1786-1842) argued in 1819 that Isaiah 40-66, commonly called Deutero-Isaiah, or Second Isaiah, was not the work of many authors and sources but that of one man living at the close of the exile.[139] His view remained dominant for about six decades. From 1878 on voices were raised about the separation of parts of Isaiah 56-66 from 40-55.[140] It was the influential commentary on Isaiah by Bernhard Duhm (1847-1928),[141] published in 1892, which presented the hypothesis that Isaiah 56-66 comes from Third Isaiah or Trito-Isaiah. These chapters supposedly were written after 538 B.C. in Palestine. Since Duhm's study, many critics attribute separate parts of Isaiah 56-66 to individual authors. The same procedures of source division and criticism are applied to Isaiah 40-66 and 1-39.

The fragmentization of the book of Isaiah into three major sections (chaps. 1-39, 40-55, 56-66), each with many independent units from various periods of time, is commonplace today in historical-critical scholarship. Some critics argued for one author of Isaiah 34-35 and 40-66[142] or of Isaiah 40-66.[143] Contemporary source critics suggest that a long series of writers, belonging to the school of Isaiah, are responsible for producing the book down to the third century B.C. and beyond.[144]

The first part of Isaiah (chaps. 1-39) is considered by the literary (source) critics to be a collection of oracles or books, dating from the time of the Isaiah of the eighth century to the third/second century B.C.

[138]J. C. Döderlein, *Isaias*, 3rd ed. (1789), pp. XII-XV.

[139]W. Gesenius, *Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar über den Jesaja* (1819, 1821), 2 vols.

[140]F. Bleek, *Einleitung in des Alte Testament* (1878), pp. 345-46; B. Stade, Geschichte des Volkes Israel (1888), 2:80ff.; A. Kuenen, *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek* (1889), 2:137ff.

[141]B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja* (Göttingen, 1892; 6th ed. 1978). See the careful criticism in E. J. Young, *Studies in Isaiah* (London, 1955), pp. 39ff.

[142]C. C. Torrey, *The Second Isaiah* (Edinburgh & New York, 1928), et al.

[143]K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja in seinem Verhaltnis zu Tritojesaja* (Stuttgart, 1933), et al.

[144]See the recent discussion in B. S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture,* (New York, 1978) pp. 316-36.

O. Kaiser (1974) argues that from 784 verses in Isaiah 1-39, only 232 (about 29 percent) derive with some certainty from Isaiah.[145] These chapters fare little better at the hands of G. Fohrer (1967) who accepts 288 (about 37 percent) verses as genuine.[146] It should be noted, however, that these and other critics are not only divergent in their conclusions as to the number of genuine verses, but also to some degree as to the identity of which verses are actually genuine.[147] This provides glaring evidence of the subjective nature of the source (literary)-critical enterprise of historical-critical scholars. It demonstrates that its scientific nature, with the objectivity claimed for the historical-critical approach to the Bible, is illusory.[148]

Recently computers have been employed to bring a greater degree of objectivity to the study of linguistic phenomena of the book of Isaiah and its unity. The Israeli scholar Y. T. Radday,[149] the first to produce a computerized study of Isaiah, concluded in favor of a First and Second Isaiah. Other writers challenged his conclusions as well as the adequacy of the criteria he employed for computer programming. The American scholar L. L. Adams produced a detailed computerized statistical analysis of the book of Isaiah (1972) with controls from biblical and modern literature.[150] On the basis of these criteria it was concluded that the whole book of Isaiah came from a single author. Computerized studies of biblical books are just beginning. The contradictory results obtained in these cases highlight the fact that the computer programmer must work with a research model, tag categories to a mass of data that he selects and which could be assigned differently, and employ procedures of mathematical probability, to mention only these. The subjectivity of each of these aspects raises questions regarding the "objectivity" claimed for computerized studies and their results.[151]

3. Major source-critical criteria. The various source-critical criteria for Pentateuchal criticism were considered above. This section deals with the source-critical and literary criteria applied in particular to the book of Isaiah. However, the same presuppositions and principles at work here also

[145]O. Kaiser, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Gütersloh, 1969), p. 174; Id., *Isaiah One to Twelve: A Commentary* (Philadelphia, 1972); Id., *Isaiah Thirteen to Thirty-Nine: A Commentary* (Philadelphia, 1974); cf. Hans Wildberger, *Jesaja 1-12* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1972); Id., *Jesaja 13-27* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1978); Id., *Jesaja 28-39* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1981).

[146]Fohrer, pp. 364-71.

[147]A good example of this is found in the study by S. Erlandsson, *The Burden of Babylon* (Lund, 1970), pp. 43-63.

[148]Ibid., pp. 262-63.

[149]Y. T. Radday, *The Unity of Isaiah in the Light of Statistical Linguistics* (Hildesheim, 1973).

[150]L. L. Adams, "A Statistical Analysis of the Book of Isaiah," *Dissertation Abstracts* 32A (1972): 4701-A.

[151]J. M. Ward, "Isaiah," IDB, Supp. (Nashville, 1976), pp. 456-57.

are applied to other prophetic and apocalyptic literature of the OT, including the book of Daniel.

A. Restricted predictive prophecy. In the past, many critics adopted a fully naturalistic approach to Scripture, denying any predictive prophecy about the near or distant future. The historical-critical principle of analogy demanded of the critic that the supernatural could have no part in determining the course of history and the future.[152] Accordingly, the prophet was not a foreteller, only a forthteller. More recently there has been a slight but significant change among a number of historical-critical scholars. It is now suggested that there is a predictive element in prophecy, but that the prophet's capacity to predict is limited to his own people and his own day. A biblical prophet still is not conceived of as predicting events for distant times of a later age or another people or on the basis of divine information. The following rule of thumb is used: "A prophecy is earlier than what it predicts, but contemporary with, or later than, what it presupposes."[153] When applied to Isaiah, this means that parts of Isaiah 1-39 (so-called First Isaiah) predict the destruction of Israel by Assyria and presuppose the political situation of Isaiah's time in the eighth century B.C. These parts, therefore, may be considered genuine. Isaiah 40-55 (so-called Deutero-Isaiah) is said to predict the return of Israel from exile through Cyrus (44:28; 45:1) and presupposes that Israel is in exile and Jerusalem is in ruins. For this reason it must come from the period of the exile or later, because it is not contemporary with, or later than, the situation it presupposes.[154] Isaiah 56-66 (so-called Trito-Isaiah) predicts a "new heaven" and a "new earth" and presupposes that some exiles already have returned and that the temple is rebuilt or is in the process of being rebuilt (about 56:7; 66:1). Thus, these chapters cannot come from the exile or before.

The careful student of Scripture will ask whether the rule of thumb of limited predictive prophecy has support in the Word of God. The claim that a biblical prophet has messages only for his own people and his own day is contradicted by Scripture, for long time periods are foreseen and people of later generations mentioned (Gen 15:13; Deut 28:47-57; 1 Sam 2:1-10; 2 Sam 7:1-13; 1 Kgs 13; 2 Kgs 10:28-31; Ps 110:1; Isa 7:14; 9:6; Mic 4:10; 5:2; Jer 25:11-14; 31:31-34; Dan 9:24-27; 1 Pet 1:10-12). The critic's rule of thumb concerning limited prophecy is determined by a conditioned

[152]The importance of this principle that the supernatural can have no determining part in the course of history and the future has been effectively verbalized by R. Bultmann: "The historical method includes the presupposition that history is a unity in the sense of a closed continuum. . . ." ("Is Exegesis Without Presuppositions Possible?" *Existence and Faith* [New York, 1960] pp. 291-92.) In this closed continuum causes and effects are so related to each other that historical events cannot be explained as being caused by divine or transcendent powers. Accordingly, Bultmann claims, there can be no "miracles" caused supernaturally.

[153]G. E. Wright, *Isaiah* (London, 1964), p. 8.

[154]Ibid., pp. 8-10.

rationalism that does not permit a distinct prophetic foresight into the period of another people and another time. The view of restricted predictive prophecy is just as much contradicted by the biblical evidence as the view that holds that a genuine prophecy is true only when it is not fulfilled later (Deut 18:9-22; Num 7:89; 12:8; Acts 3:22-24).

Another issue relates to presupposing different historical periods of time as the periods of fulfillment. It is customary to assume that all or essentially all parts of Isaiah 40-66 point to a fulfillment in the Babylonian period. But this assumption has been challenged by E. J. Kissane who argues that many units in the book of Isaiah seem to correspond well to, or are not inconsistent with, what is known of several later periods of time, of which next to nothing is known. If a correspondence with only one such period is made, a false impression of certainty or probability is necessarily communicated.

Caution should be exercised. Isaiah 40-66 refers to Babylon and the Chaldeans in only three chapters (43:14; 47:1, 5; 48:14, 20).[155] Cyrus is referred to by name only twice (44:28; 45:1). To claim, as is too frequently done, that all or most of Isaiah 40-66 refers necessarily to Babylonian times and/or beyond is far more than the evidence in these chapters warrants. The argument that since Isaiah 40-66 points to a period later than Assyrian times they must be interpreted on the basis of these later times is circular, because of the foregone conclusion that they are later. Therefore the evidence adduced for the existence of Deutero-Isaiah, not to speak of Trito-Isaiah, is largely of a rationalistic-subjective nature, dominated by characteristic views about OT prophecy—and bolstered by additional arguments.

B. Language and style. Source (literary) critics have argued that peculiarities of language and style are definitive criteria for determining authorship. On this basis a core of genuine words of Isaiah from Isaiah 1-39 is assembled by source (literary) critics. Other non-Isaianic parts in Isaiah 1-39 customarily are assigned to a "school of Isaiah" that consisted of disciples of the prophet Isaiah and their followers for a long period of time. The alleged "school of Isaiah" or other disciples of Isaiah are said to have represented, enlarged, or added to the original words of Isaiah for centuries after his death. Only then did the book of Isaiah emerge in its final form as it has been known since NT times.

A fundamental maxim of the early critics of Isaiah was (it is still held in many circles today) that every passage is spurious until proven genuine. This dubious procedure is not applied to other ancient Near Eastern literature. Its application to biblical literature reveals a scepticism inconsistent with sound scholarship in general.

Linguistic arguments for or against the genuineness of Isaianic texts or units usually proceed by determining the usage of words in the book of Isaiah and the remainder of the OT. This kind of argument is best discussed in connection with an actual example.

Most modern critics have denied that Isaiah is the author of Isaiah 24-

[155]E. J. Kissane, *The Book of Isaiah* (Dublin, 1960), pp. 11-37.

27.[156] A key argument is the supposedly non-Isaianic language. On this basis it is suggested that it must be dated centuries later than the late eighth and early seventh centuries of Isaiah's ministry.[157] Usually it is estimated that about 65 to 75 percent of the language of Isaiah 24-27 is found in the sections of Isaiah 1-39 assigned to the prophet Isaiah. The remaining 25 to 35 percent of the terms are studied on the basis of words that (1) are unique to Isaiah 24-27, (2) appear in contexts outside of the book of Isaiah, (3) appear in sections in Isaiah 1-39 denied to Isaiah, and (4) appear again in Isaiah 40-55 (Deutero-Isaiah) and Isaiah 56-66 (Trito-Isaiah).

Let us consider the validity of the conclusions drawn from the categories above. There are 18 words in the first category that never reappear in Isaiah or the remainder of the OT (hapax legomena). Nothing absolute can be determined on the basis of this first grouping of terms.

The second grouping contains over 20 terms. It is argued that almost every one appears no earlier than material dated to the exilic period, among which are passages from Genesis, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Judges, Job, Psalms, and Proverbs. Although critical scholars consider this evidence for a later period, the conservative scholar dates the seven books to a time before Isaiah. This evidence, therefore, does not necessarily go against Isaianic authorship.

The third grouping contains about 40 terms, all of which are present one to ten or more times in Isaiah, but in sections that already have been labeled "un-Isaianic." These terms are considered spurious by critics and are dated on the basis of the same criteria as the second grouping.

The conservative scholar cannot accept the argument because it (1) denies the Isaianic origin of the other appearances of these terms in the book of Isaiah and (2) assigns a late date to many of the other OT books or sections thereof in which these terms appear. Indeed, in all fairness, these terms should be considered Isaianic.

The fourth grouping contains about 40 terms, all of which are present in Isaiah 40-66. Since almost half appear rather frequently in these chapters, it is argued that this is proof of a date even later than the critic would set for Isaiah 40-66. To this argument is added the observation that these words are found also in so-called "late" books. See p. 33, par. 4.

Sound scholarship cannot follow this logic and argumentation for the following reasons: (1) There are no objective criteria on the basis of which critics can know or determine the total range of a biblical writer's vocabulary. (2) A biblical writer can use a term rarely or only once and be the first to have used the term long before it is employed commonly. Critical scholars make this virtually impossible, yet offer no controls. But somebody must employ a term for the first time. To consider unique or rare

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terms suspect is a subjective procedure. (3) The lack of rich, contemporary extra-biblical Hebrew literature makes it impossible to be certain about the vocabulary and range of meanings of Hebrew terms for any given period of biblical Hebrew. (4) The problem of circular reasoning is present when terms are redated on the basis of redated Isaianic materials or the late dating of OT books or sections therein that claim to come from earlier times. (5) The relative lack of attention to the relationship between subject matter and style and the vocabulary that fits both renders the statistical approach in determining authenticity meaningless. These are major reasons for lack of confidence in employing language usage as the criterion for determining authorship and date in modern source criticism.

The criterion of style also is applied in a variety of ways to the authenticity of Isaianic authorship. It has been claimed that Isaiah would not permit poems to dribble out into prose conclusions, or that the real Isaiah wrote primarily or exclusively in poetry.[158] Others analyzed particular phrases with unsatisfactory procedures. For instance, the famous English critic T. K. Cheyne argued that the phrase "house of Judah" (Isaiah 37:31) indicates a post-Isaianic date, because the eighth century Isaiah used only the phrase "house of Jacob" (2:5-6; 8:17; 10:20; 14:1; 29:22).

In addition, Cheyne accepted only 8:17 as genuinely coming from Isaiah so that only one usage each stood over against the other. He decided on that basis that only one phrase can come from Isaiah.[159] The arbitrariness of such a procedure means it cannot be called scientific.

Other scholars have pointed out time and again that the styles of Isaiah 1-39 and 40-66 are quite distinct and thus require different authors. At the same time, the stylistic similarities between chaps. 40-55 and 56-66 are not accepted as indicating single authorship. It is explained that the writer or school behind Trito-Isaiah was sufficiently immersed in Deutero-Isaiah to have reflected it in both vocabulary and style.[160]

Scholars, in pointing to these problems of circular reasoning, arbitrariness, and lack of consistency,[161] have questioned the validity of the criteria of language and style used in the study of Isaiah. Source critics have emphasized dissimilarity at the expense of similarity. However, even a critic of the stature of O. Eissfeldt has admitted that there are linguistic and other similarities between Isaiah 1-39 and 40-66.[162]

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[156]Wildberger, *Jesaja 13-27*, pp. 905-911.

[157]J. Lindblom, *Die Jesaja-Apokalypse* (Lund, 1938), pp. 111-16; E. S. Mulder, *Die Teologie van die Jesaja-Apokalypse* (Aasen, 1954), pp. 67-77; W. E. March, *A Study of Two Prophetic Compositions in Isaiah 24:1--27:1* (Th.D. dissertation, Ann Arbor, MI, 1966), pp. 199-232.

[158]Sheldon H. Blank, *Prophetic Faith in Isaiah* (Detroit, 1967).

[159]T. K. Cheyne, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* (London, 1895), p. 244.

[160]Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, pp. 321-25. For example, Oswald T. Allis, *The Unity of Isaiah* (Philadelphia, 1950); E. J. Young, *Studies in Isaiah* (London, 1954); Archer, pp. 317-39; Hummel, *The Word Becoming Flesh*, pp. 184-91; J. A. Alexander, *The Prophecies of Isaiah* (Grand Rapids, 1971), pp. 13-78.

[161]Erlandsson, pp. 59-60; cf. Lindblom, pp. 115-16; Mulder, p. 67; March, pp. 199-232.

[162]Eissfeldt, p. 346.

Scholars have pointed to linguistic and stylistic phenomena in Isaiah 1-39 and 40-66 as indicating common authorship. The idiomatic phrase, "the Holy One of Israel," which in Isaiah expresses a central theological emphasis, appears 12 times in Isaiah 1-39 and 13 times in chaps. 40-66, while in the remainder of the OT it occurs only six times. There are numerous unusual words, expressions, or phrases used in identical form in both parts of the book. There are literally hundreds of words and phrases peculiar to the book of Isaiah and used throughout chaps. 1-39 and also 40-66. A large-scale study of these was published by R. Margalioth,[163] who concluded that the specific linguistic-literary parallels of the two parts of the book of Isaiah are so large in number that no other two books in the OT, by different authors, share the same phenomenon.

Note the following summary examples among many more: (1) Several specific titles of God are used exclusively in Isaiah and are alike in both parts. (2) Eleven different epithets refer to Israel and are alike in both parts. (3) Eleven references to Jerusalem/Zion reveal the same style in both parts. (4) Eight different phrases concerning the return of the exiles are employed alike in both parts. (5) Twenty different introductory formulae are used alike in both parts. (6) Twenty-three expressions of encouragement are common to both parts. (7) Twenty-one expressions of rebuke peculiar to Isaiah are common to both parts. (8) Twenty-nine expressions of chastisement are used in identical style in both parts. (9) Thirty-four typically Isaianic synonyms and phrases are used alike in both parts. (10) Thirty-one sentence structures are used exclusively in Isaiah and are alike in both parts.

It also is pointed out that the usage of expressions specific to the entire book appear with the same regularity in both parts of Isaiah, so that these linguistic and stylistic features are inherent and not artificially introduced into the style of any section of the book. No other books of the OT written by different authors share the consistent and regular appearance of these phenomena.

4. **Authorship of the book of Isaiah.** Upon careful consideration of the internal data, the conclusion of many scholars[164] is that Isaiah is the author of the whole book attributed to him. A prophet who lived in turbulent times, ministering under diverse circumstances for a period of six decades (740-680 B.C.), would be expected to address himself to differing subject matters in accordance with divine inspiration and to present these in varying literary modes.

Although the linguistic and stylistic parallels between Isaiah 1-39 and 40-66 far outweigh the differences, the thought pattern of the second part of the book is significantly more future oriented than the first part. It is likely that the second part of the book was written in the last period of the prophet's life during the sole reign of the infamous king Manasseh. The

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[163]Rachel Margalioth, *The Indivisible Isaiah* (New York, 1964).

[164]See the books by O. T. Allis, E. J. Young, G. L. Archer, H. D. Hummel, J. A. Alexander, among others.

latter completely destroyed what God desired for His people by his tyrannical, idolatrous reign. At that time, before Isaiah himself was martyred, God seems to have given to the prophet visions of the future that were more glorious than anything presented to him earlier, even to the new heaven and the new earth.

Among the witnesses to Isaianic authorship are: (1) Biblical testimony from pre-exilic prophets reflecting or resembling—if not at times borrowing—from, Isaiah (cf. Isa 47:8 with Zeph 2:15; Isa 66:20 with Zeph 3:10; Isa 52:7 with Nah 1:15; Isa 43:1-6 with Jer 30:10-15; Isa 44:12-15 with Jer 10:1-16; Isa 48:6 with Jer 33:3; Isa 56:11 with Jer 6:15; Isa 65:17 with Jer 3:16; Isa 66:15 with Jer 4:13). (2) Biblical testimony from the NT which clearly ascribes its quotations from both Isaiah 1-39 and 40-66 to the prophet Isaiah.[165] (3) Internal evidence of language and style within the entire book (see above). (4) Extra-biblical evidence of ancient versions, all of which consider the book a unity, and of Ecclesiasticus 48:22-25 (ca. 180 B.C.) where Jesus ben Sirach speaks of "Isaiah the prophet" and alludes to Isaiah 40:1 and 61:2-3, ascribing to him visions "of the last things, . . . what was to occur to the end of time, and the hidden things before they came to pass."[166] (5) Manuscript evidence from Qumran (1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b) demonstrates that the oldest copies of Isaiah contain the whole book of 66 chapters without a division between chapters 1-39 and 40-66 and 40-55 and 56-66. (6) Tradition of Jewish and Christian communities to the eighteenth century and beyond.

Objections to the claims of this book are of a rationalistic nature grounded in antisupernaturalism and dominated by particular views about OT prophecy in disharmony with explicit and implicit biblical testimony.

Form Criticism of the Old Testament

Terminology, Scope, and Purpose

The designation "form criticism" is a translation of the German term *Formgeschichte,*[167] literally "form history"; although recently the German *Formkritik,*[168] which corresponds to the English translation, is used.

Form criticism is a part of the historical-critical method and was introduced most carefully by H. Gunkel (1862-1932) for the study of the OT at the end of the nineteenth century in the wake of the barrenness of the

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[165]See 4BC 85-86.

[166]Common Bible, Revised Standard Version, an Ecumenical edition (New York, 1973).

[167]Klaus Koch, *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition* (New York, 1968); Gene Tucker, *Form Criticism of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia, 1971); ed. John Hayes, *Old Testament Form Criticism* (San Antonio, 1974).

[168]G. Fohrer, et al., *Exegese des Alten Testaments. Einführung in die Methodik* (Heidelberg, 1973), p. 81.

source criticism of Wellhausen.[169] Form criticism does not view the literature of the OT as the product of divine-human origin, but as the product of conventional folk memory, evident in folklore in general. It attempts to trace assumed preliterary and at times literary traditions as they were formed and shaped primarily on the basis of sociological forces. As such, form criticism is a "literary-sociological discipline"[170] which reconstructs sociocultural contexts for biblical texts and interprets them on the basis of these reconstructions.

The relation of biblical texts to their reconstructed sociocultural contexts is described by the phrase *Sitz im Leben*, "setting in life," or simply "setting." The concept of a "setting in life" has been fundamental to form criticism from the outset, because of the basic assumption that there is a direct relationship between the form content and content of OT texts and sociocultural institutions—whether cultic, legal, or otherwise. That is, there is an intellectual matrix that accounts for the shaping of these texts to their final form.[171]

The basic assumption of form criticism holds that OT texts must be interpreted with the aid of external sociological phenomena, built upon contemporary linguistics, anthropology, and sociology. This assumption implies that the same laws at work in linguistics, anthropology, and sociology are at work in the shaping of the biblical material.[172]

Fundamental to this basic assumption is the claim that folk memory, understood as the vehicle of tradition, operates with small units, often not larger than a single saying or couplet of poetry. Accordingly, form criticism attempts to trace the growth of texts or units from these supposed short forms by an assumed evolution into the long forms appearing in the canonical text of the OT.

Basic to form criticism is both the assumed growth pattern from short to long and the frequently assumed evolutionary movement from primitive to advanced. The primary purpose of form criticism is to trace this growth. The interest in classifying or describing textual units according to types, genres, or *Gattungen*, such as hymn, wisdom saying, legend, saga, oracle, and the like, serves to associate them with and interpret them by means of reconstructed sociocultural "settings in life."

It is evident that form critics attempt to reconstruct a sociocultural context different from the given context in Scripture or the respective book in the Bible; and further, that they interpret the various textual units according to this modern reconstruction.

Scholars who acknowledge the indivisible divine-human nature of

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[169] Hermann Gunkel, *The Legends of Genesis* (New York, 1964).
[170] G. M. Tucker, "Form Criticism of the Old Testament," *The International Dictionary of the Bible*, Sup., p. 342.
[171] D. A. Knight, "The Understanding of 'Sitz im Leben,'" *Form Criticism: Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Paper 1* (Missoula, MT, 1974), pp. 105-125.
[172] See Tucker, pp. 343-44.

inspired Scripture find the proper and primary interpretational context in Scripture itself; that is, Scripture interprets Scripture. From that point of view, the naturalistic and/or evolutionary premises of form criticism—with its own sociocultural context reconstructed on the basis of the theories of modern folklore studies, linguistics, anthropology and sociology—are hardly compatible with the self-testimony of Scripture.

Certain procedures of current form criticism may be illustrated on the basis of examples taken from Pentateuchal narratives, form-critical study of the Decalogue, and the Psalter. These examples are representative of the new form-critical directions of the study of the OT in this century.

Form Criticism of the Genesis Narratives

The form-critical method was developed first by H. Gunkel in connection with the Genesis narratives. Accepting source criticism which claimed four sources for the Pentateuch, JEDP, Gunkel asked, "Are the narratives of Genesis history or legend?"[173]

In the wake of critical opinion, he thereby raised the question of how the narratives of Genesis were to be read if not in the same fashion as sober historical writing. Having posited the incredibility of the Genesis Creation story and that of other Genesis narratives, Gunkel concluded that Genesis is a collection of legends, or better, sagas, which may contain at times a kernel of historical truth.

He distinguished between mythical (Gen 1-11) and patriarchal sagas (Gen 12-50). The former are polytheistic, dealing with origins of the world and of men in the distant past and answering universal questions; whereas the latter are monotheistic, dealing with ancestors and the origin of Israel, and answering questions of tribal history and local phenomena in nature.

The large group of patriarchal sagas is subdivided into "historical" sagas, reflecting historical occurrences; "etiological" sagas, written for the purpose of explaining something; "ethnological" sagas, providing reasons for the relations of tribes; "etymological" sagas, explaining names; and "ceremonial" sagas, explaining the regulations of religious ceremonials.

As to the *Sitz im Leben*, Gunkel felt that the sagas were not productions of single authors, but rather of folk traditions, characterized by their brevity and simplicity. The originally brief sagas developed in oral transmission into longer saga chains and "novellas."[174] The former are the Abraham-Lot cycle and the Jacob-Esau cycle, whereas the "novellas" are present in the Joseph story. At the earliest stage the saga was a "fairy tale" or "folk tale," that is, a free-floating story not connected to any particular person, place, or time. The sequence of the evolution in the preliterary stage is from "fairy tale" to "saga" to "saga chain" to "novella."[175]

Hugo Gressmann (1910, 1923) followed in the wake of Gunkel, as has

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[173] Gunkel, p. 1.
[174] Ibid., pp. 24-30, 88-100.
[175] Wilcoxon, *Old Testament Form Criticism*, pp. 80-81.

historical-critical OT scholarship down to the present. Current form critics divide the genres, or types, or *Gattungen* of Genesis in a variety of ways, namely in the tradition of Gunkel as myth, fairy tale, saga, and legend;[176] as "guilt and punishment" narratives (Gen 1-11), "family" narratives (Gen 12-36) dealing with the ancestress and her child, struggles for territories, stories of success, theological stories, promises, blessings, cultic activities; and "novella" (Gen 37-50).[177]

The form-critical approach to the Genesis narratives views them as historically unreliable in Genesis 1-11, at best containing certain historical kernels in Genesis 12-50. It claims a long preliterary "folk tradition" at work before they were committed to written form usually along an evolutionary line from primitive to advanced concepts, and from short beginnings to long cycles of narratives. Shaping of content by "folk tradition" is conditioned by its sociocultural settings in life, rooted in persons, places, intellectual questions, and institutions, both cultic and non-cultic.[178]

Form criticism's reinterpretations of the Genesis narratives therefore are radically different from an approach to Genesis that recognizes its inseparable divine-human origin and its authenticity and historicity. The gap between the two approaches is so vast that no synthesis can be expected to remain faithful to either approach because of the foundational differences in their respective starting points.

Form Criticism of the Psalms

The form-critical method was first applied to the Psalms by Hermann Gunkel (1862-1932) in several studies between 1904 and 1926. He disregarded the superscriptions of the Psalms as without historical value and classified the psalms in five major psalm types or genres (*Gattungen*): "hymns," including "songs of Zion" and "enthronement songs," "communal laments," "royal psalms," "individual laments," and "individual songs of thanksgiving." To these he added four minor genres. The *Sitz im Leben* ("setting in life") of each of these was the cultus.[179]

Sigmund Mowinckel (1884-1965) of Norway followed Gunkel in proposing a cultic setting in life for each psalm.[180] With the exception of two or three, he suggested that certain psalms (hymns, royal psalms, lamentations) can be understood only in the setting of an "Enthronement Festival of Yahweh" celebrated at each New Year. He sees other psalms as connected with private services in the temple, and a few as the result of reflection and instruction. The Gunkelian psalm classification in types and the Mowinckelian attention to cultic (and sociological) settings in life determine form-critical psalm research to the present.[181]

While Mowinckel reconstructed an "Enthronement Festival," A. Weiser suggests a "Covenant Renewal Festival,"[182] and H. J. Kraus a "Royal Zion Festival"[183] as the major cultic occasion for which the psalms were produced and out of which they grew. Despite these variations of form-critical opinion with regard to the cultic festival that is said to have given rise to the psalms, there is a consensus that the psalms have a cultic origin.

It should be noted that these festivals are scholarly reconstructions. Other scholars argue that they never existed at all. E. Gerstenberger's recent essay on the form criticism of the psalms notes incisively that since the data about the real performances of such seasonal feasts are lacking, each, "be it called New Year/Enthronement Festival or Covenant Renewal Festival, at times looks like a specter or a bag of bubbles."[184] Although among some form critics there is less certainty about the nature of the cultic festival in connection with which the psalms originated, they still are united in maintaining that the psalms have a cultic origin. This is necessitated through the basic axiom of form criticism, namely the search and reconstruction of sociocultural settings in life (*Sitz im Leben*) which provide by themselves satisfactory explanations for the origin and growth of given units—in this instance psalms.

Among the notable recent departures from Gunkelian form criticism of the Psalms is that of C. Westermann, a form critic himself, who as recently as 1976 criticized Gunkel's division into genres. Westermann proposed that there are only two basic genres—"psalms of lament" by the people or the individual and "psalms of praise" of a declarative or descriptive kind. In addition, he acknowledges such minor types as liturgical psalms, royal psalms, psalms of Yahweh's kingship, and wisdom or didactical psalms. The cultic origin remains basic.[185]

It is evident that the form-critical approach to the Psalms is not simply a way of describing their literary types or genres but is joined inextricably with the procedure of discovering, describing, and defining the setting in life of each psalm on the basis of sociocultural situations in ancient Israel and its pagan neighbors.

The form-critical approach to the Psalms is confronted by the testi-

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[176]For example, Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction*, pp. 32-46.

[177]C. Westermann, "Arten der Erzählung in der Genesis," *Forschung am AT* (Munich, 1964), pp. 9-91; Id., *Genesis 1-11* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1972), Engl. tr., *Genesis 1-11. A Commentary* (Minneapolis, 1984); Id., *Genesis 12-50* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1975).

[178]Hayes, *Old Testament Form Criticism*, and the various articles in this book.

[179]H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 4th ed. (Göttingen, 1924).

[180]S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien I-IV* (Kristiana, 1921-1924).

[181]E. Gerstenberger, "Psalms," *Old Testament Form Criticism*, pp. 179-223.

[182]A. Weiser, *The Psalms* (Philadelphia, 1962).

[183]H. J. Kraus, *Theologie der Psalmen* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1979), pp. 139-50.

[184]Gerstenberger, p. 197.

[185]C. Westermann, *The Praise of God in the Psalms* (Richmond, 1965); Id. "Book of Psalms," IDB, Supp., pp. 705-710.

mony of the biblical text of the Psalms themselves and beyond. Hebrew Psalm titles appear as part of the text, appearing in the Hebrew as the first verse, or as part of it, wherever they occur. Seventy-three of these psalms—nearly half of the Psalter—are introduced with the formula $l^e dawid$ ("of David"), and fourteen of these are linked to experiences in the life of David: from "the cave" to the battlefield, but not from an alleged New Year/Enthronement Festival, Covenant Renewal Festival, or Royal Zion Festival at the temple or local shrine. No less than 115 superscriptions of the Psalter contain key words or phrases that seem to indicate the type or nature of the psalm thus introduced.[186]

Form critics cavalierly dismiss the superscriptions as "typical midrash" (S. Mowinckel), but other scholars have shown that there is a rational relationship between them and the contents of the psalms.[187] Form critics, for example, classify Psalm 60 as a "national psalm of lamentation"[188] or "community lament"[189] and date it to the pre-exilic and exilic era respectively. To them it is cultic in origin and represents a liturgy which the people sang as "part of a service of supplication in the course of which the people, who are in a mood of deep depression after a heavy defeat, bring their lamentation and petition before God."[190] The superscription, on the other hand, indicates that the setting in life was not that of the cult. The Psalm was authored by David after his victories over Edom, Moab, and the Philistines (see 2 Sam 8:13; 1 Chr 18:3-12; 1 Kgs 11:15-16).[191]

Psalm 110, to cite another example, is interpreted as a preexilic "royal psalm" reciting three oracles by a cult prophet for the king.[192] A. Weiser acknowledges that "the superscription attributes the psalm to David,"[193] but suggests that this is the tradition of later Judaism.

Nevertheless, the NT preserves Jesus' own judgment on this psalm. The Lord attributed the words to "David himself" and affirmed that David was speaking "by the Holy Spirit" (Mark 12:36-37). According to Matthew 22:41-45 the Lord showed by the use of vs. 1, where David calls the Messiah his Lord, that the Messiah was something more than a human king with a perfect reign, that is, more than "the son of David." Form critics find themselves faced with a serious problem in denying Davidic authorship and time of origin of this Psalm because they are countered by the testimony of the NT, indeed the words of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself.[194] The psalm

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[186]3BC 627-28.

[187]B. S. Childs, "Psalm Titles and Midrashic Exegesis," JSS 16 (1971): 137-50; R. D. Wilson, "The Headings of the Psalms," *Princeton Theological Review* 24 (1926): 353-95.

[188]Mowinckel.

[189]A. Weiser, G. Fohrer.

[190]Weiser, p. 438.

[191]3BC 74.

[192]H. Gunkel, S. Mowinckel, A. Weiser, H. J. Kraus, etc.

[193]*The Psalms*, p. 92.

[194]Wilson, vol. 24, pp. 1-37, 353-55.

reads like an enthronement prophecy, the uniqueness of which rests in the royal speaker, King David, who prophesies of the enthronement of a more-than-royal person, the Messiah, who will sit at the right hand of God (Matt 26:64; Acts 2:33-35; 7:55-56; etc.). These examples illustrate the conflict between the form critical approach to the Psalter with its reconstructed cultic setting in life, its resulting redating, and complex history of development on the one hand[195] and the biblical context and explicit settings in life on the other.

It seems a fair assessment to state that in place of the given Scriptural context, form criticism reconstructs its own sociocultural contexts and settings in life which become the norm for interpretation. This sociocultural frame of reference is, as has been seen, the basis for the reconstruction of social institutions, cultic and otherwise, that function as the *Sitz im Leben* (life setting) of the individual biblical units.

Equally fundamental is the naturalistic assumption that human language is formed on the basis of typical structures or types of expression common to all human situations and/or thought processes. Accordingly, all typical structures or types of expression are thought to be formed in the preliterary stage of OT texts in the same way as in the folklore of other cultures and peoples past and present.

Aside from the fact that this foundation is questionable from a variety of perspectives, a truly biblical scholar will also question the premises that Scriptural units developed from short to long and from simple to advanced or complexiones.[196] There is, for example, telling evidence in Sumerio-Akkadian and Egyptian literature from the middle of the third millennium B.C. onward, indicating that hymns, proverbs, epics, etc., could vary considerably in length, even at the time of their composition. Furthermore, complex pieces of literature that evidently could not have had a long or short prehistory are known from the same cultures.

The matter of making the reconstructed sociocultural context the norm of defining and interpreting a biblical unit is a problem of most fundamental concern. From the start it surrenders the Scriptural setting in its present state as the primary and unique norm of biblical interpretation. The procedure of classifying textual units as specific literary type, for example the parable, is not at all identical with the aims and purposes of form criticism. The latter reconstructs contexts for biblical texts on bases other than those provided by the sacred text and context of Scripture that should function as norm for interpretation. A major concern of OT form criticism is the exchange of a reconstructed sociocultural context for the given canonical context of Scripture.

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[195]See D. A. Clines, "Psalm Research Since 1955: 1. The Psalms and the Cults," *Tyndale Bulletin* (1967), pp. 103-126.

[196]The whole notion of the development from simple to complex, or from short to long is undermined in the important study by Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (New York, 1965).

Tradition Criticism of the Old Testament

Terminology, Scope, and Purpose

The designations "tradition criticism"[197] or "history of the transmission of tradition" are translations of such German terms as *Überlieferungsgeschichte*, *Traditionsgeschichte*, and most recently also *Traditionskritik*.

Tradition criticism of the OT has been fully developed since the 1930s, following in the wake of and presupposing source (literary) criticism and form criticism. It shares with the latter the basic assumption that "the majority of our OT underwent a process of growth (often lengthy and complex) in real life situations, the result being a body of cumulative, multiplex traditions which reflect the life and religion of the community in various periods of its history"[198]

The aim of tradition criticism is to illuminate the precompositional history of smaller or larger textual units from stage to stage as they were passed down for generations by word of mouth until they were fixed in written form. The tradition-critical method "assumes that folk tradition can reveal the marks of each generation actively involved in its preservation. It presupposes that a tradition has a history, that the history can be traced in some detail, and that to uncover the history will provide insight into the significance of the material."[199]

Upon the basis of these assumptions tradition criticism traces a tradition back to its origins, trying by induction to determine and describe the interpretative reshaping of the material at each stage of development by the respective values, goals, or prejudices of the people involved in its transmission. The ultimate purpose is a diachronic synthesis of the findings, in order to present a relative chronology of the growth of the tradition, and the changes, alterations, additions, and reinterpretations that took place until it was fixed in written composition.[200]

The traditio-historical method is not an entirely unified or coherent approach because tradition critics have been unable to reach complete unanimity in details of method. It is customary to distinguish among German,[201] Scandinavian,[202] and American approaches to the method.[203]

Despite such nonuniformity, there is agreement that this method is capable of describing the experiences, interpretations, and reflections of

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forces in ancient Israel that shaped and reinterpreted the tradition over long periods of time before it was put into writing in the form in which the biblical text now appears. Thus, it is said to be capable of providing knowledge regarding Israel's religion and cult, and also of providing clues to the reinterpretation process in the present.

It is important to stress again that the traditio-historical method, as is true for the previously described approaches of this method, is bound to its own assumptions, presuppositions, and premises from which it cannot be separated. Tradition criticism posits a complex process in which the tradition went through stages of expansion, reinterpretation, and reflection.[204] The tradition itself may or may not contain at its core a historical kernel. It opposes the position that Scripture "came fresh from the fountain of eternal truth, and [that] throughout the ages a divine hand has preserved its purity. . . . Here [in the Bible] only is given a history of our race unsullied by human pride or prejudice."[205] Since tradition criticism deals with biblical history as shaped by forces similar to any other tradition, it is unable to view the Bible as containing "inspired history"[206] which "is the production of God, not of the finite mind."[207] These two approaches cannot be mixed or synthesized without determinative changes and alterations in the understanding, function, and purpose of each approach.

Tradition History and the History of Israel

The fathers of tradition history, Gerhard von Rad (1901-1971) and Martin Noth (1902-1968), developed it as a method in the 1930s. The former produced a special study on the Hexateuch (1938), a commentary on Genesis (first published in 1949),[208] and a revolutionary, two-volume theology of the OT (1957, 1960)[209] built upon the traditio-historical method. The latter produced an influential history of Pentateuchal traditions (1948),[210] preceded by another traditio-historical study (1943).[211]

Noth supplemented and expanded von Rad's prior studies, giving special direction to the traditio-historical approach as practiced on the European continent and beyond. He separated the books of Genesis to Numbers from Deuteronomy and described five major Pentateuchal themes in them, also

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[197] On "tradition criticism," see particularly Douglas A. Knight, *Rediscovering the Tradition of Israel* (Missoula, MT, 1975); Koch; Walter E. Rast, *Tradition and History in the Old Testament* (Philadelphia, 1972); G. W. Coats, "Tradition Criticism of the Old Testament," IDB, Supp., pp. 912-14.

[198] Knight, *The Tradition of Israel*, p. 2

[199] Coats, p. 912.

[200] Knight, *The Tradition of Israel*, pp. 21-23.

[201] Ibid., pp. 77-214.

[202] Ibid., pp. 215-382.

[203] See the studies by W. Rast and G. W. Coats in n. 204.

[204] See Knight, *The Tradition of Israel*, pp. 383-400.

[205] E. G. White, *Education*, p. 173.

[206] E. G. White, *Spiritual Gifts* 3:95.

[207] E. G. White, *Fundamentals of Christian Education*, p. 377.

[208] Gerhard von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Philadelphia, 1960), pp. 1-78.

[209] The volumes are entitled, *Old Testament Theology* (Edinburgh, 1965, 1967).

[210] M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1972, [originally published in 1948 in Germany]).

[211] Translated in M. Noth, *The Law in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* (Philadelphia, 1966).

isolating additional elements in the tradition. Next he suggested the existence of a Deuteronomic history (using the siglum D for Deuteronomy), which begins with Deuteronomy and includes Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings, in addition to the Chronicler's history (using the siglum Chr for Chronicles). Deuteronomy and Chronicles are set off from the Pentateuch in their origin, nature, and purpose. It is claimed that the Pentateuch, Deuteronomy, and Chronicles reflect various disparate traditions and stages of development with R complex prehistories.

The results of the complex reinterpretations and changing situations claimed for these books of the OT provide the background for his famous work, *The History of Israel* (Eng. tr. 1958). In it he claims that the history of Israel begins at the point when the tribes settled in Palestine about 1200 B.C. The various earlier events prior to this, such as the patriarchal migrations, Egyptian slavery, Exodus, wilderness wanderings, the taking of Canaan, do not belong to the history of Israel proper and do not provide evidences for factual earlier happenings. Indeed, Chronicles and Deuteronomy likewise are not faithful accounts of historical events. They portray the history leading to the Exile from differing theological and other points of view. The traditions reflected in Deuteronomy were changed, altered, and added to, according to what conformed to certain beliefs, and thus were reworked and reinterpreted according to later perspectives. Chronicles does the same thing and is dated to 300-200 B.C.

The implications of the traditio-historical approach for the historical trustworthiness of what is reported in Genesis to Numbers and Deuteronomy, as well as the other historical books of the OT, are immense. This issue may be illustrated by reference to the history of Israel as it has emerged in traditio-historical research. The traditio-historical approach to the beginnings of ancient Israel finds nothing in the Genesis narratives that can be said in the strict sense to be "historical"; Genesis does not even contain any appreciable nucleus of historical fact in its patriarchal narratives.

Noth's hypothesis is that an amphictyony of Israelite tribes developed, which at first consisted of six tribes of the "Leah group" which other tribes joined until there was a twelve-tribe amphictyony in monarchic times. It is argued that after the settlement, the Israel which was made up of but a few tribes felt itself of such a unity that a structure of traditions arose that produced a common prehistory of this Israel and a common faith as preserved in Genesis and other parts of the Pentateuch and Joshua.

As Noth sees it, the six tribes of the "Leah group" were the first to settle in Canaan, some time before the supposed Exodus; the tribe of Benjamin arrived somewhat later; and the tribes of the house of Joseph came last; but there was no large-scale Exodus from Egypt as depicted in the Pentateuch. "The departure from Egypt and the deliverance which took place 'by the sea' do not suggest a great number of complete tribes but a numerically, fairly small group which was in a position, because of its size, to 'flee' from Egypt."[212] The twelve tribes as such, he holds, did not exist

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[212]M. Noth, *The History of Israel*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia, 1966), p. 117.

in Egypt. The small group that fled from Egypt became part of the various tribes as they emerged on Palestinian soil. That same small group brought along the news of an exodus or flight and transmitted it to their descendants as though it had happened on a large scale and to them all. In this way it became the common property of the whole of later Israel.

The figure of Moses is explained on the assumption that as Israel's faith grew, the need for a founder was felt. The figure of a colorless Moses was blown up in the developing tradition from an insignificant grave story to the gigantic proportions he has in the Pentateuch.

It is evident that this traditio-historical approach to the materials in Genesis and Exodus is driven by a drastic devaluation of the respective biblical materials. The results of the traditio-historical method are radical. Scholars from various backgrounds have raised decisive objections to it. The implausibility of the reconstruction of the history of early Israel by tradition criticism is emphasized by many.[213] The scepticism inherent in this method consists of the basic "assumption that the biblical pattern is automatically wrong and that the first principle of operation is to discard it for something else."[214]

Contrary to the stance of the tradition critic, a truly biblical scholar must show a willingness to grant the basic authenticity and factualness of the biblical texts. A genuinely respectful approach must be manifested for the given outline of history provided in the OT with the sequence of patriarchal beginnings, transfer to and slavery in Egypt, exodus from Egypt, wilderness wandering and covenant at Sinai, followed by the conquest of Canaan.

Tradition criticism is criticized correctly for circular reasoning, reductionism, subjectivism, and arbitrariness in decisions as to what is supposedly "primary" and what is "secondary."[215] The assessment of traditio-historical procedures from the pen of G. E. Wright is telling: "This [Noth's] attempt to reconstruct, or rather nihilistically reduce, the history of early Israel solely by the use of an internal form-critical and tradition-history methodology is so artificial and subjective as to be unconvincing."[216]

The informed reader should keep in mind what D. A. Knight points out that "traditio-historical research deals with a sphere in which essentially only hypotheses and conjectures can thrive."[217] Since the matter of historicity—whether the events described in the OT actually happened in that way—remains crucial, it must be emphasized that "the 'results' reached with the traditio-historical method as a rule can only be conceived to be

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[213]W. F. Albright, J. Bright, G. E. Wright, S. Herrmann. See the critiques discussed by Knight in *The Tradition of Israel*, pp. 185-202.

[214]D. N. Freedman, "The Interpretations of Scripture. On Method in Biblical Studies: The Old Testament," Int 17 (1963): 313.

[215]Cf. S. Herrmann, H. Birkeland, I. Engnell.

[216]G. E. Wright, "Archeology and Old Testament Studies," JBL 77 (1958): 47.

[217]Knight, *The Tradition of Israel*, p. 213.

hypotheses with greater or lesser degrees of probability."[218]

The probability of the hypotheses is directly linked to the guidelines or principles employed. The "shorter is older" principle is absolutely "useless as any kind of guideline," argues R. M. Polzin, because "shorter can just as easily be younger as older."[219] This is particularly borne out by the research of A. B. Lord in his important study, *The Singer of Tales* (1968). Polzin has demonstrated the uselessness of such criteria or guidelines as (1) "cultic" or "religious" traditions are earlier than comparable "secular" or "worldly" traditions, (2) earliest traditions tend to be anonymous, while later traditions are more specific and individualized, and (3) earlier traditions usually lie in the background, while later traditions are more prominent in the present Pentateuchal narrative. According to Polzin, Noth's main conclusions are valueless. He calls Noth "the 'master builder' of the myth of origins."[220] The "more or less probable" hypotheses produced by tradition criticism turns out to be built on shaky foundations, to say the least. The approach to OT history as manifest in tradition criticism has been rightly criticized as derived from Western culture.[221]

While the reactions against tradition criticism mount, no student of Scripture should conclude that in view of these and other negative reactions tradition criticism generally is rejected. Despite the fact that tradition criticism deals with a sphere in which "essentially only hypotheses and conjectures can thrive" the method as such is very much alive and undergoing constant refinements.

Tradition Criticism and Old Testament Theology

In the 1950s the University of Heidelberg scholar Gerhard von Rad published his two volumes, *Old Testament Theology* (Eng. tr. 1962, 1966), the first such work solidly built upon the traditio-historical method. The point of departure for von Rad is that in the OT there are certain creeds or "faith-statements" that do not report factual history but "salvation history." The basis of the Hexateuch, that is, the Pentateuch and Joshua, is such a creed that confesses that the God who made the world also called the patriarchs and promised them the land of Canaan. Following Israel's stay in Egypt, Israel was delivered and after lengthy desert wanderings was given Canaan. This creed or credo, which summarizes the irreducible minimum sustaining a common belief, von Rad suggested, is preserved in its earliest form in Deuteronomy 26:5b-9. A parallel example is in Deuteronomy 6:20-24.[222]

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[218]D. Weidmann, *Die Patriarchen und ihre Religion im Licht der Forschung seit J. Wellhausen* (Stuttgart, 1968), p. 173.

[219]R. M. Polzin, *Biblical Structuralism: Method of Subjectivity in the Study of Ancient Texts* (Philadelphia, 1977), p. 187.

[220]Ibid., p. 215.

[221]Knight, *The Tradition of Israel*, pp. 211-13.

[222]Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (New York, 1962), 1:121-25.

A striking feature of these supposed creeds is the absence of the events at Sinai. From this von Rad concluded that the so-called Sinai tradition existed independently and in complete separation from the Exodus-Conquest tradition. In any case, he argued that the Yahwist (J) fused the two traditions into one. These creeds, it should be noted, served as the primary organizing principle for the variegated and complex traditions which went into the building of the Hexateuch. In other words the Hexateuch was the final stage in the long traditio-historical process to which many people, traditions, and ancient theologians had contributed.[223]

However, von Rad insists that the Yahwist (J) played a dominant traditio-historical role as both compiler and editor, and also "in the way he has linked together the materials, connected and harmonized them with one another."[224] This included the altering of external forms, changes and additions in content and detail. The modifications applied similarly to the sagas or legends in Genesis as well as to other Hexateuchal materials, and also to strands attributed to P (priestly writer[s]) and E (Elohist).

All in all, von Rad emphasizes repeatedly that the determinative factor in the shaping of Israel's traditions was her faith. Therefore what is reported in the OT is not the result of God's activity in history as it actually and factually happened, but as Israel's faith stance produced it over a long period of time and under the influence of many forces and people.

This world of the OT witnesses, as produced by faith and unlocked by tradition criticism, is the subject matter of von Rad's OT theology. His theology of the OT avoids both a thematic structuring along the sequence of God-man-salvation[225] and a cross-section structuring,[226] opting for a traditio-historical presentation of the testimonies and confessions of Israel.

In harmony with this approach von Rad states that OT theology should be understood as the theology of the historical and prophetic traditions. Accordingly, the subject matter is the world of thought and faith made up of testimonies, but this subject matter is not systematically ordered. This world of Israel's testimonies presents neither pure and factual revelation from God nor pure perception or insight from man, but it is drawn up by faith and is confessional and kerygmatic in character.

Following this procedure von Rad is able to avoid the writing of an OT theology based on the historical reconstruction of OT history as presented by the A. Alt-M. Noth school. However, he is not able to overcome the limitations that his traditio-historical approach places on the historical experiences recorded in the OT. This means that the kerygmatic-

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[223]In this general outline, von Rad was followed by B. W. Anderson, *Understanding the Old Testament*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1966), pp. 9-11; Walter Harrelson, *Interpreting the Old Testament* (New York, 1964), pp. 9-36, et al.

[224]Von Rad, *Genesis*, p. 36.

[225]Cf. L. Köhler, E. Sellin, E. Jacob.

[226]Cf. W. Eichrodt, Th. C. Vriezen, G. Fohrer, etc.

confessional testimonies described in von Rad's *Old Testament Theology* are reconstructed stages in the supposed tradition history and are not at all what the fixed form of the OT claims for itself.[227]

A traditio-historical theology of the OT raises the issue of the relationship of tradition, history, and salvation history *(Heilsgeschichte)*. In von Rad's theology the traditio-historical method is the key to the theology of the OT. Regarding the Exodus, for example, von Rad holds that the tradition may reflect no more than the escape of a few slaves from Egypt who were rescued at the crossing of a "sea." This story, which found its way into Israel's confession of faith, became Israel's earliest confession, around which the whole Hexateuchal history was finally arranged. This confession does not provide real history; it reflects the Israelite tradition built up by her faith, but not by facts in real history, and credits Yahweh with great acts in history. Von Rad calls this "historical poetry," using a "poetic-theological guise," with which Israel "made sure of historical facts."[228] The important thing is the confessional-kerygmatic picture of Israel's history, not the historical core behind it or the primary experience that may have given rise to it.

Accordingly, in von Rad's theology salvation history is identified with the confessional-kerygmatic picture of Israel's history. The latter tends toward a "theological maximum" and not a "critically assured minimum."[229] The "theological maximum,"—the product of Israel's faith but not of "real" history—is salvation history.

It is apparent that von Rad's view of salvation history is tied closely to his understanding of tradition history. His view is the opposite of an understanding of salvation history which looks upon the OT records as communicating factually God's self-disclosure in and through real historical events in which God acted for the salvation of mankind—events faithfully recorded by inspired writers of the Bible. The foundation of von Rad's salvation history is the developing tradition,[230] which results from the intermingling of a historical core with a spiritualizing interpretation.

Among the many reactions to the issue of tradition history and salvation history as von Rad poses it, is one that notes incisively that he has dissolved the "true history of Israel" of the OT into "religious poetry" which is fabricated by Israel "in flat contradiction to the facts."[231] It has been objected also that the theological question of the OT was solved phenome-

nologically by von Rad with the use of tradition criticism.[232] Others have noted that in the OT historical reality and kerygmatic expression—fact and interpretation—form an inseparable unity.[233] It seems hardly acceptable to inquire whether an objectively mistaken report about the past which tradition has built up by faith is a trustworthy witness or kerygma about the activity of Yahweh.

Scripture insists time and again that the OT and NT are founded on actual events that happened, facts that manifest God's activity and are presented on the basis of God's self-disclosure. It is a presentation of real events which represent the true meaning of history more faithfully and accurately than a mere chronicle of the actual course of history.

The dynamic nature of the OT texts encompasses the unity of historical fact and its divinely revealed meaning. This unity is the basis for overcoming the modernistic dichotomy of a salvation history either built up by tradition[234] or closely linked with a historical-critical reconstruction.[235] It also solves the problem of divorcing the kerygma or confession from history as such.[236] Since the traditio-historical approach does not take the final or fixed form of the OT as its point of departure but reconstructs supposed tradition-history behind or beneath the text which is de facto equated with salvation history (never occured as reported), it is unable to present a theology of the OT as it is available to us in Scripture.

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[227]G. H. Davies, Gerhard von Rad, "Old Testament Theology," *Contemporary Old Testament Theologians*, ed. R. B. Laurin (Valley Forge, 1970), pp. 63-90.

[228]Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* 1:119.

[229]Ibid., p 108. For a more extensive discussion, see Gerhard F. Hasel, *Old Testament Theology: Basic Issues in the Current Debate*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, 1978), pp. 57-76.

[230]Von Rad writes on the "historical traditions," *Old Testament Theology*, 1:105-347, and "prophetic traditions." Ibid., 2:33-318.

[231]W. Eichrodt, Theology (Philadelphia, 1961), 1:513.

[232]F. Baumgärtel, "Gerhard von Rad's, 'Theologie des AT,'" TLZ 86 (1961): 805.

[233]A. Weiser, *Glaube und Geschichte im AT und andere ausgewahlte Schriften* (Munich, 1961), pp. 2, 22; J. Hempel, "Die Faktizitat der Geschichte im biblischen Denken," in *Biblical Studies in Memory of H. C. Alleman* (Locust Valley, NY, 1960), pp. 67ff.; Id., *Geschichten und Geschichte im AT bis zur persischen Zeit* (Gütersloh, 1964), pp. 11ff.

[234]Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2:108.

[235]F. Hesse, *Abschied von der Heilsgeschichte* (Zürich, 1971).

[236]E. Osswald; cf. R. Bultmann. See Hasel, *Old Testament Theology*, pp. 57-75.

III

THE HISTORICAL-CRITICAL METHOD AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

Source Criticism of the New Testament

As in the case of historical-critical OT studies, source criticism of the NT is commonly identified with literary criticism. Before the nineteenth century the French Oratorian priest R. Simon (1638-1712) was the first to apply a literary critical approach to the NT.[1] The German scholar J. D. Michaelis (1717-1791) was influenced by Simon, whose work he elaborated, and by J. S. Semler (1725-1791), whose four-volume work on the canon (1771-1775) had a formative impact on historical criticism in particular and on the development of the historical-critical method in general.[2]

Michaelis himself inaugurated the production of NT "introductions."[2] He argued that the Synoptics are literarily unrelated but depend upon "other apocryphal Gospels" and consequently suggested the existence of an *Urevangelium* or "original, lost gospel." Thus, the so-called "synoptic problem" was seen in a new light.

It will not be our purpose to trace the origin and development of the Tubingen School of NT criticism. However, the influence of that school has been determinative for all later historical criticism of the NT. D. F. Strauss (1808-1874) published a radical reinterpretation of the gospel accounts of Jesus.[3] He introduced the mythical interpretation of the life of Jesus, departing from the supernatural and rationalistic ones of his predecessors.

It was F. C. Baur (1792-1860), the uncontested head of the Tubingen School, whose adoption of Hegelian philosophy led him to describe early Christian history as a struggle between Pauline libertarianism and Jewish legalism which produced the synthesis in the second century in the form of the canon and a catholic church.[4] He placed Matthew first but dated it with the other Gospels to the second century A.D. He also made a clear distinction between the Synoptics and John. Furthermore, Baur recognized only Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians as genuine Pauline epistles. The radical posture of the Tubingen School evoked strong reactions and led to the acceptance of an alternative: the adoption of a less radical form of the historical-critical method without Baur's supposedly Hegelian presuppositions and resultant conclusions.[5]

Source Criticism of the Synoptic Gospels

The first three Gospels have extensive similarity in their content, therefore are called the Synoptics. The inductive study of this similarity of materials as well as notable dissimilarities within Matthew, Mark, and Luke gave rise in the eighteenth century to the so-called "synoptic problem."

It was Augustine (A.D. 354-430) who first seriously considered the literary relationship of the Gospels in his *De consensus evangelistarum* (A.D. 400), in which he laid down the principles that influenced the treatment of the Synoptics for more than a millennium. He suggested the priority of Matthew, of which Mark is an abbreviation, and regarded Luke as the youngest of the Synoptic Gospels.

1. **Single-source hypotheses.** The "Synoptic Problem," as understood in modern times, arose in connection with the studies of J. D. Michaelis, as noted above. In the latter part of the eighteenth century G. E. Lessing suggested that the Synoptics are dependent upon an Aramaic gospel that is lost. J. G. Eichhorn gave scientific form to this "primitive gospel hypothesis" in 1794.[6] This single-source hypothesis became increasingly complex. It was abandoned because one would expect greater uniformity in language, arrangement, and content if the Synoptics had arisen from a single source.[7]

The so-called Griesbach hypothesis was established by J. J. Griesbach and was published in 1783 and 1789-1790.[8] It presupposes the sequence of Matthew-Luke-Mark. Mark is considered to be the epitomist of Matthew. Matthew was used as a source by Luke. Mark's Gospel used both Matthew and Luke. This hypothesis was dominant in historical-critical scholarship in the middle of the nineteenth century and supported by W.M.L. de Wette, F. Bleek, the Tubingen School, and others.[9]

The so-called Lachmann hypothesis was developed in 1835 by C. Lachmann,[10] who noted that Matthew and Luke agree with each other in sequence only when they have the same sequence as Mark. From this observation he argued for the priority of Mark and suggested the sequence of Mark-Matthew-Luke. This view was anticipated by J. B. Koppe (1782)

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[1] R. Simon, *Histoire Critique du texte du Nouveau Testament* (Rotterdam, 1689); Id., *Histoire critique des versiones du N.T.* (Rotterdam, 1690); Id., *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du N.T.* (Rotterdam, 1693).

[2] J. D. Michaelis, *Introduction to the Divine Scriptures of the New Testament* (Göttingen, 1750).

[3] W. G. Strauss, *Das Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1835, 1836).

[4] G. W. Kümmel, *The New Testament: The History of the Investigation of Its Problems* (Nashville, 1972), pp. 127-46.

[5] Stephen Neill, *The Interpretation of the New Testament: 1860-1961* (London, 1964), pp. 15-27.

[6] J. G. Eichhorn, *Uber die drei ersten Evangelien* (Gottingen, 1794).

[7] G. W. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (New York, 1965), p. 37.

[8] J. J. Griesbach, *Commentario qua Marci evangelium totum e Matthaei et Lucae commentarius decerptum esse monstratur* (1789-1790).

[9] Kummel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 39.

[10] C. Lachmann, "De ordine narrationum in evangeliis synopticis," ThStKr 8 (1835): 570.

and G. C. Storr (1786) and followed up by C. G. Wilke (1838), who pointed out that Mark represents the common source for the narrative material of Matthew and Luke.[11] This gave rise to the two-source hypothesis.

2. Two-source hypothesis. In 1838 C. H. Weisse modified the Lachmann hypothesis by arguing for two primitive and apostolic sources: Mark and the *Logia*.[12] The latter, first mentioned by F. Schleiermacher in 1832, is referred to as Q (from the German *Quelle*) "source."[13] Matthew and Luke, as the hypothesis goes, drew the major part of their material from Q plus Mark. The two-source hypothesis found its most able synthesizer in H. J. Holtzmann (1863).[14] In 1872 it came to England through W. Sanday and was supported by F. H. Woods (1886, 1890) and others.[15]

The two-source hypothesis has found numerous supporters to the present day and has undergone many modifications. It is by far the most widely accepted source-critical hypothesis. However, since the 1950s there have been, from various points of view, mounting reactions to it as well as to the four-source hypothesis which developed from it.

3. Four-source hypothesis. In 1924 B. H. Streeter[16] amplified the two-source theory into a four-source theory. He sought to identify, aside from the sources of Mark and Q, an L source which contained the material peculiar to Luke and an M source which contained the material peculiar to Matthew. Many of Streeter's ideas have not been accepted generally among scholars, but there has been wide agreement that four bodies of material may be discerned in the Synoptics.[17]

4. Multiple-source hypotheses. Scholars supporting the priority of Mark, that is, following generally the Lachmann hypothesis and its successors in the form of the two-source and four-source hypotheses, attempt in a variety of ways to deal with one of its major stumbling blocks.

This problem has been stated as follows: "On the hypothesis of the independent editing of Mark by Matthew and Luke [supposing the priority of Mark] the minor agreements of these gospels against Mark (in the triple tradition) [that is, the narratives, parables, etc., that are in Matthew, Mark, and Luke] are the most serious stumbling block. . . . Because of the great number of these coincidences in content, vocabulary, style, and grammar, the concatenation of agreements in certain sections, and the

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[11]Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 39.

[12]C. H. Weisse, *Die evangelische Geschichte kritisch und philosophisch bearbeitet*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1838).

[13]F. Schleiermacher, "Über die Zeugnisse des Papias von unseren ersten beiden Evangelien," *Sämtliche Werke* (Berlin, 1832), 1:361ff.

[14]H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Leipzig, 1863).

[15]Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, pp. 39-40.

[16]B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: The Study of Origins* (London, 1924).

[17]Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, pp. 42-60; A. Wikenhauser, *New Testament Introduction* (New York, 1963), pp. 239-53.

combination of positive and negative agreements, many authors do not accept accidental coincidence as a satisfactory explanation for the whole of the phenomenon."[18]

Various suggestions have been made to solve the problems of this major stumbling block. Some suggest a Proto-Mark and a Proto-Matthew[19] or a Deutero-Mark[20] or a Primitive Luke[21] or a Mark already combined with Q.[22] Others argue for common sources for both Matthew and Luke in addition to Mark such as a Proto-Matthew and an S (supplement) source respectively[23] or gospel fragments.[24] These representative examples indicate that the two-source and four-source hypotheses do not adequately solve the major stumbling block of the minor agreements between Matthew and Luke. The divergent proposals also indicate that the problem so far has defied any solution.

Since the 1950s criticism of another unresolved problem of the Lachmann hypothesis and its successors has brought forth attacks against the priority of Mark. The major pillar for the priority of Mark is the argument from order: "The relative order of sections in Mark is in general supported by both Matthew and Luke; where Matthew diverges from Mark, Mark's order is supported by Luke, and where Luke differs from Mark, Mark's order is supported by Matthew.

"From this statement of the absence of agreement in order between Matthew and Luke against Mark (in the triple tradition), proponents of the two-document hypothesis draw the conclusion that Mark is the common source, independently edited by Matthew and Luke."[25] The logical validity of this argument was shown to be useless by B. C. Butler (1951)[26] and

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[18]F. Neirynck, "Synoptic Problem," IDB, Supp. (1976) p. 845, (this section is heavily indebted to this essay.)

[19]M. E. Boismard, *Synopse des quatre evangiles en francais, II: Commentaire* (Paris, 1972). See the evaluation and critique by F. Neirynck, "Urmarcus redivivus?" *L'evangile selon Marc*, ed. M. Sabbe, BETL 34 (Louvain, 1974): 103-145.

[20]T. F. Glasson, "An Early Revision of the Gospel of Mark," JBL 85 (1966): 231-33.

[21]H. P. West, "A Primitive Version of Luke in the Composition of Matthew," NTS 14 (1967): 75-95.

[22]A. Fuchs, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Matthäus und Lukas* (Rome, 1971).

[23]L. Vaganay, *Le probleme synoptique: Une hypothese de travail* (Paris, 1954); Id., "La question synoptique," *Eph TL* 28 (1952): 238-52.

[24]L. Cerfaux, "La mission en Galilee dans la tradition synoptique," *Eph TL* 27 (1951): 369-89; X. Leon-Dufour, "Autour de la question synoptique," RSR 42 (1954): 549-84; Id., "Les evangiles synoptiques," *Introduction a la Bible* (Paris, 1959), 2:291-295; Id., "Passion," *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement* (Paris, 1960), 4:1444-47.

[25]Neirynck, p. 845.

[26]B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St. Matthew: A Critique of the Two-*

W. R. Farmer (1976)[27] and acknowledged by others who for other reasons hold to the two-source hypothesis.[28]

In view of these problems, it is not surprising that Butler and Farmer have revived aspects of the Griesbach hypothesis. They argue for the priority of Matthew as Th. Zahn and A. Schlatter did before them in this century. More recently this position has been supported by D. L. Dungan (1970), G. Wenham (1972), and in full-fledged form by B. Orchard,[29] and especially in a penetrating attack against Markan priority over Matthew and Luke, by H. H. Stoldt (1981).[30]

5. Aramaic source hypotheses. One element of the source criticism of the Synoptics was the suggestion that the Q source was an early Aramaic original. In 1898 G. Dalman (1855-1941) argued on the basis of Aramaic influence evident in the Gospels that Jesus spoke Aramaic to his disciples.[31] C. C. Torrey (1863-1956) held that all four Gospels were translations of Aramaic originals.[32] His theory attracted wide attention but failed to convince many scholars.

More recently J. Jeremias has attempted to recover the *ipsissima verba Christi* ("very words of Christ") by reconstructing from the Greek the original Aramaic spoken by Jesus.[33] A mediating position between that of Torrey and others is that adopted by M. Black.[34] He suggests that an Aramaic sayings-source, either written or oral, underlies the Synoptics. On the basis of recent discoveries in Palestine where letters, business dockets, and other materials written in the Greek language appeared from NT times and before, it seems evident that Greek was used more widely along with Aramaic than was previously known.

From this it has been suggested that Jesus could have known and at times spoken Greek also. Thus, it is possible that some words of Jesus' recorded in the Gospels could have been coined by Jesus Himself rather

Document Hypothesis (Cambridge, 1951).

[27]William R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem: A Critical Analysis* (Dillsboro, NC, 1976).

[28]G. M. Styler, "The Priority of Mark," in *The Birth of the New Testament* (London, 1962), pp. 223-32; R. H. Fuller, "The Synoptic Problem: After Ten Years," PSTJ 28/2 (1975), pp. 63-74.

[29]B. Orchard, *Matthew, Luke and Mark* (London, 1977).

[30]H. H. Stoldt, *Geschichte und Kritik der Markus Hypothese* (Göttingen, 1977), Engl. tr., *History and Criticism of the Markan Hypothesis* (San Antonio, 1981).

[31]G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus* (1898).

[32]C. C. Torrey, *The Four Gospels* (London, 1933); Id., *Our Translated Gospels* (New York, 1936).

[33]Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York, 1972); Id., *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, tr. Norman Perrin (Philadelphia, 1977).

[34]Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 3rd ed. (London, 1967).

than resulting from a translation. Unfortunately, absolute certainty cannot be reached on these matters.

After two centuries of hard work, source critics still have not found a unified solution to the so-called "synoptic problem." Currently there are two leading hypotheses that seek to explain the relationship of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke--the two-document hypothesis with the priority of Mark and the Griesbach hypothesis with the priority of Matthew. A prominent scholar stated in 1970, after practically 200 years of diligent research, that the synoptic problem (that is, the relationship of the first three Gospels) is "practically insoluble."[35] While the majority of scholars hold to the two-source theory, a growing number of scholars from America and Europe have moved to the Griesbach hypothesis, holding that Matthew is the earliest Gospel. There seem to be serious problems in the two-source hypothesis and the priority of Matthew has been ably argued in recent years with new evidence. Thus, what was once considered a "sure result" of research is no longer sure at all. This situation leads to somber awareness once again that one needs to be sensitive to the presuppositions in a given method, to the procedural application of a given method, and to the probability factors of the conclusions reached by that given method.

It is doubtful whether a completely satisfactory answer can be provided and whether what is called the "synoptic problem" ever can be solved.

Source Criticism of the Gospel of John

Since John has only a few parallels with the Synoptics, extensive material is unique in the Gospel of John, frequently called the Fourth Gospel. It has been the traditional opinion that John was the last of the four Gospels and that John knew and presupposed the Synoptics. In 1938 P. Gardner-Smith suggested that John knew none of the Synoptics but drew upon an independent tradition.[36] This view has won many supporters, but even more scholars hold that it was the tradition behind the Synoptics that was known to John. Other scholars have suggested variously that John knew only Mark, or only Luke, or only Mark and Luke, or all three Synoptics. No consensus has emerged in one direction or another.[37]

In 1941 R. Bultmann's famous commentary on John appeared, featuring the most penetrating historical-critical exegesis that had yet been published. He proposed that the Fourth Gospel is the product of a Gnostic convert to Christianity and that he drew his material from three major sources independent of each other: (1) a Semeia-Source—a collection of

[35]J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Priority of Mark and the 'Q' Source in Luke," in *Jesus and Man's Hope*, eds. D. G. Miler, D. Y. Hadidien (Pittsburg, 1971), 2:131-70.

[36]P. P. Gardner-Smith, *Saint John and the Synoptic Gospels* (London, 1938), pp. 93ff.

[37]Donald Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction: Gospels and Acts* (London, 1966), pp. 260-75.

miracles symbolic in meaning and not historical; (2) a Revelatory Discourse Source—a collection of discourses of Oriental Gnostic origin; and (3) a Passion-Easter Source—parallel to the Synoptics but independent of it. The present form of the Fourth Gospel is the work of the evangelist's attempt to weave these three sources together, making them the vehicle of his own thought. His work, however, fell into disorder, and the final evolutionary stage is the work of an Ecclesiastical Redactor who attempted to bring order into the work, but fell short himself.[38]

This elaborate source hypothesis of Bultmann has been criticized on several basic points: (1) The stylistic differences of the various sources are insufficient to justify the conclusions drawn from them because they are not verifiable.[39] (2) The signs and discourses in John are inseparably woven together so that they cannot be derived from independent sources.[40] (3) The sayings of Jesus are embedded in the discourses and belong to the primitive tradition. (4) There is a lack of parallels in antiquity for the kind of sources that are claimed to have existed.[41]

The various explanations of the use of sources in John and/or in later redactional activity remain theories with many inadequacies and uncertainties. The fact that no consensus has been achieved reveals the subjective nature of such enterprises. The self-testimony of the Gospel of John is contained in John 19:35 and 21:24-25, where the eyewitness factor is forcefully emphasized. The author of John claims to be an eyewitness. The Gospel demands as its author one who had close intimacy with Jesus, namely the "beloved disciple." John 1:14, 16 also emphasizes eyewitness reporting with the use of "we" and of the "seeing" which is physical and not spiritual. The Gospel of John may have been written in its present form about A.D. 90 and it appears from internal evidence that the apostle John was its author. The majestic depth of understanding of the nature, purpose, and mission of Jesus Christ set forth in the Fourth Gospel seems to make it difficult to suppose that another than John the Beloved could have been the penman.

The student of the Bible should be aware that source-critical approaches to the Gospels and also to other New Testament documents are founded upon the premise that these writings were produced in the same way that any ordinary religious works are produced; that is, the authors relied entirely upon fallible human memories and documents, which they felt free to adapt, change, alter, or amend to fit specific purposes. From a

biblical standpoint such a premise of natural origin of the NT is dubious. The function of the Holy Spirit is vital.

While the concept that the writers of Scripture wrote under verbal dictation is to be rejected, it is to be affirmed that the Holy Spirit was active in the production of the Gospels and the other biblical writings. That is to affirm, as relating to the Gospels, that the Holy Spirit safeguarded the use of information and the veracity of the narratives as the inspired writers wrote the story of the origin, birth, life, ministry, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ. A comprehensive understanding of the role of the Holy Spirit includes providing knowledge of past events and their meaning by direct revelation. Hence the Gospels, as also all other Scripture, are unique when compared with the whole body of human literary production; the inspired writings are the result of an inseparable divine-human origin and consequently cannot be treated the same way a literary critic analyzes the production of a work that springs solely from human genius.

Peter states that "holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" (2 Pet 1:21, KJV). The men inspired by the Holy Spirit had to express divine thoughts in human language, and each one's own individuality and experience allowed certain aspects to be grasped. Under the Holy Spirit's guidance each Bible writer presented the truth as grasped by him. In this way the Bible presents a union of the divine and the human, and we find "a different aspect of the truth in each [writer], but a perfect harmony through all. And the truths thus revealed unite to form a perfect whole, adapted to meet the wants of men in all circumstances and experiences of life."[42]

Form Criticism of the New Testament

Terminology, Scope, and Purpose

The method of form criticism as applied to the NT is a development of the twentieth century and follows in the wake of the two-source theory of Gospel origins which it presupposes. Form criticism (from the older German *Formgeschichte* or more recent *Formkritik*) of the NT gained its inspiration from the work of form criticism in the OT under the influence of H. Gunkel, whose work was discussed above.

The purpose of form criticism of the NT has been to get behind the sources described by source criticism by going back to the oral stage in order to "identify and to describe what was happening as the tradition about Jesus was handed on orally from person to person and from community to community. Form criticism has been especially concerned with the modifications which the life and thought of the church—both Jewish-

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[38]R. Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, 16th ed. with Supp., Gottingen (1959).

[39]E. Schweizer, *Ego Eimi* (Göttingen, 1939); E. Ruckstuhl, *Die literarische Einheit des Johannesevangeliums* (Freiburg, 1951); etc.

[40]R. E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John*, AB 29 (Garden City, NJ, 1966), p. XXXI.

[41]Ibid., pp. XXXI-XXXII. See also D. A. Carson, "Current Source Criticism of the Fourth Gospel: Some Methodological Questions," JBL 97 (1978): 441-29.

[42]E. G. White, *The Great Controversy*, p. viii; see Id., *Selected Messages* 2:15-23.

Christian and Gentile-Christian—have introduced into the tradition, and form critics have attempted to work out criteria for distinguishing those strata in the Gospels which reflect the concerns of the church from the stratum that might be thought to go back to the historical Jesus."[43]

While at first the scope of form criticism was limited to the Synoptics, more recently it has been applied also to various remaining NT materials. Categories have been designated such as acclamations, doxological statements, confessions, hymns, epistolary forms, and different kinds of paraenetic materials.[44]

Form Criticism of the Synoptic Gospels

After the wide acceptance of the two-source hypothesis at the turn of the century, the literary investigation of the Synoptics was at a stalemate. The problem was to devise a method to get behind the written sources in order to discover the oral tradition which lay behind them. As in the case of form criticism of the OT, the principle underlying the form-critical method is that folk memory is the vehicle of tradition which operates with small units that grow as the tradition develops.

It is assumed that folk memory never exists for its own sake, but only because some need or interest of the community keeps it alive. In other words, the setting in life (Sitz im Leben) of the tradition is determined by sociocultural forces. Of primary importance in this approach is the sociocultural context, or intellectual matrix, as well as the brevity of the unit and its simplicity. Accordingly, one speaks of a "setting in the life of the church" (Sitz im Leben der Kirche), which is the context or situation of a particular unit in the life of the early church.

The years 1919-1921 gave birth to what is called the form criticism of the Synoptics. In 1919 K. L. Schmidt (1891-1956) published his famous study on form criticism where he argued that the Synoptics were mosaic-like collections of short, independent episodes in the life of Jesus which circulated as independent units in the oral period, and that few of these had any indication of time and place of origin with the exception of the Passion narrative.

Mark supplied a framework of connecting links and summary reports and therefore reflected the "setting in the life of the church" (rather than the setting in the life of Christ) which preserved, adapted, and expanded the stories for its worship, pastoral, and missionary concerns.[45]

A few months earlier in 1919, M. Dibelius (1883-1947) published his

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significant book, *From Tradition to Gospel*.[46] Dibelius' starting point was that the tradition of the early church was shaped by the needs of missionary activity. He stated, "The mission of Christendom in the world was the originative cause of all these different activities."[47] "The fundamental hypothesis," according to Dibelius, is that once the tradition is traced back to its initial stage, "we find no description of the life of Jesus, but short paragraphs or pericopae."[48] Among his aims was "to test the trustworthiness of the tradition of the life of Jesus,"[49] and he concluded that "the oldest traditions of Jesus came into existence because the community was in need of them—a community which had no thought of biography or of world-history but of salvation. . . ."[50] Dibelius finds a variety of forms in the Synoptics and classifies them as paradigms, tales (Novellas), legends, myths, and the Passion story.

The last figure in the triumvirate of founders of NT form criticism is R. Bultmann, whose *History of the Synoptic Tradition* was published originally in 1921. This most ambitious and controversial of the three early works systematically sorts the material of the Synoptics and classifies them into apophthegms (basically similar to Dibelius' paradigms), dominical sayings, miracle stories, historical stories, and legends.[51] Bultmann manifests a radical scepticism regarding the historical reliability of the Gospel material, assigning most of the material in the tradition to the creative imagination of the early Christian communities.[52]

Both Dibelius and Bultmann wrote books on the life of Jesus, that is, on the "deeds and words of Jesus"; but they agreed that no biography of Jesus could be written in the sense of a "life and teaching of Jesus." The reasons given for their view are that the tradition has no biographical interest and that the chronological and geographical information is without value.

While form-critical study has not been static and recently has developed in many ways, it is true that Bultmann's form-critical categories of the synoptic tradition still predominate[53] and generally "The comprehensive form critical studies of Dibelius and Bultmann and their application of form criticism to the life and teachings of the earthly Jesus continue to influence studies today."[54]

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[43]Dan O. Via, Jr., "Preface," *What is Form Criticism?* (Philadelphia, 1969), p. vi.

[44]R. W. Funk, *Language, Hermeneutics and Word of God* (New York, 1966), pp. 224-74; B. Rigaux, *Paulus und seine Briefe* (Munich, 1964), pp. 164-201; C. E. Carlston, "NT Form Criticism," IDB, Supp. (Nashville, 1976), pp. 346-47.

[45]K. L. Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu* (Göttingen, 1919).

[46]M. Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (Göttingen, 1919).

[47]Ibid., p. 50.

[48]M. Dibelius, *Gospel Criticism and Christology* (London, 1935), p. 27.

[49]M. Dibelius, ExpTim 42 (1930): 42.

[50]Dibelius, *Gospel Criticism and Christology*, p. 30.

[51]R. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, rev. ed. (New York, 1976), pp. 12-305.

[52]For a description of the work of these individuals, see Neill, pp. 240-51.

[53]Carlston, pp. 345-46.

[54]Edgar V. McKnight, *What is Form Criticism?* (Philadelphia, 1969), p. 37.

B. S. Easton, an American, introduced form criticism to an American audience in his lectures, *The Gospel Before the Gospels* (1928).[55] He supported the importance of the recognition of oral tradition and employed categories of form criticism. In contrast to its founders, he distinguished between the method as such and the matter of historical reliability. He claimed, "By itself it [the method] can tell us nothing of the truth or falsity of events narrated."[56]

The British scholar V. Taylor[57] gave a sympathetic appraisal of form criticism, accepting the basic assumption that the Gospel tradition first circulated in small, isolated units. Taylor wishes to acknowledge a divine element in the Gospels, but claims that it has nothing to do with a supernatural safeguarding of the tradition in the oral transmission period. He writes, "But we see that they [the Gospels] came into existence in human ways, that in his wisdom God did not see it necessary to safeguard them by protective measures, but left them free to win their own way and to make their own conquest."[58]

He sees a process of change and dissolution in the process of oral transmission, and says that "the stories have been shortened and rounded in the course of oral transmission; . . . and have been made the subject of comment and reflection. . . ."[59] Even as conservative a form critic as Taylor proceeds on the essential assumption of form criticism that during the period of oral tradition the community had a formative influence upon the tradition without a divine process of safeguarding the materials from distortion or changes unfaithful to the original events.

Reactions to Form Criticism

Critical reactions to the theory and practice of form criticism have been expressed from its beginning and continue to the present from a variety of perspectives. Limited space allows mention of only those that seem to have the greatest weight.

With the advance of anthropological and sociological studies in the decades since the turn of the century, it has become increasingly evident that the anthropological-sociological assumptions underlying form criticism are no longer supportable. Studies of folklore in various ancient and modern societies indicate the following: (1) A tradition regarding a single person has that person as the center, not single deeds; this argues against the existence of small, independent units. (2) Folklore indicates that nothing arises from socio-cultural needs. This argues against the assumption that the needs of the early church, whether missions or something else, produced and/or shaped the tradition. (3) A story based on real events is

[55]B. S. Easton, *The Gospel Before the Gospels* (New York, 1928).
[56]Ibid., p. 77.
[57]V. Taylor, *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition* (London, 1933).
[58]Ibid., p. 2.
[59]Ibid., p. 158.

essentially trustworthy. This argues against the historical unreliability of the tradition. (4) A parable, allegory, or meaningful saying always originates with a single person. This argues against the assumption of a creative community. (5) The principle or assumption of the "shorter is older" is undercut by modern research.[60]

The problem of form criticism's dependence upon the outdated and outmoded presuppositions of folklore studies as pursued at the end of the ninteenth century brings into the fundamental question the continued applicability of the evolutionistic-naturalistic patterns upon which it depends.

Superimposing a framework upon the supposedly independent units as advocates of form criticism suggest, particularly K. L. Schmidt, rightly was rejected in the 1930s by the British scholar C. H. Dodd.[61] In 1931 T. W. Manson published a forceful attack against form criticism.[62] He separated the study of the form of the various units from all the other form-critical procedures.

The most prominent postulate of form criticism, namely that the formation of the material took place in the Christian community, was attacked by the Scandinavians, H. Riesenfeld,[63] and B. Gerhardsson.[64] The former holds that "the beginning of the Gospel tradition lies with Jesus himself."[65] It has been suggested by others that Jesus may have told the same saying or parable, or preached the same discourse on different occasions and in different forms.[66]

The argument of the two Scandinavian scholars may be summarized as follows: (1) The Jewish community transmitted its tradition from teacher to student in a relatively fixed and controlled way. (2) New Testament references to tradition suggest that the early Christians, who were mostly Jewish, showed a like concern for faithful transmission. (3) Jesus began the process of transmission, being Himself a teacher whose disciples memo-

[60]Th. Boman, *Die Jesus-Überlieferung im Lichte der neueren Volkskunde* (Göttingen, 1967); E. Guttgemanns, *Offene Fragen zur Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (Göttingen, 1970).
[61]C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Development* (London, 1936); Id., *The Parables of the Kingdom* (New York, 1961).
[62]T. W. Manson, *The Teachings of Jesus* (London, 1931); Id., *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles* (London, 1961).
[63]H. Riesenfeld, *The Gospel Tradition and Its Beginning: A Study in the Limits of "Formgeschichte"* (New York, 1957).
[64]B. Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Tradition in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity* (Lund, 1961); Id., *Die Anfänge der Evangelientradition* (Stuttgart, 1977).
[65]Riesenfeld, p. 23.
[66]Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction: Gospels and Acts*, p. 192; S. H. Travis, "Form Criticism," *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods*, ed. I. Howard Marshall (Grand Rapids, 1977), p. 160.

rized what He taught them, guaranteeing the historical trustworthiness of the words of Jesus.

Repeatedly scholars have emphasized that eyewitnesses were alive until and after the Gospels were written. Among them were bitter enemies of the Christian movement; so that the Christian community could not have engaged in the kind of formative activity assumed by form critics. Furthermore, there is not enough time between the life of Jesus and the date of writing the Gospels for the occurrence of such radical changes; which, in the view of the older folklore studies, took centuries. More recent folklore studies indicate the faithful transmission of stories and traditions for hundreds, and in some cases, even one thousand years.[67]

A widely held form-critical cliche holds that the Gospels are not the product of Jesus' life, but that Jesus' life is the product of tradition;[68] or, in more direct terms, that "the Gospels are not biographies of Jesus written for historical purposes by the original disciples of Jesus."[69] This idea rests upon a nihilism of historical value in the Gospels.

It is difficult to understand why the Gospels should have emerged at all if their authors had not been interested in the life of Jesus, complete with general biographical, geographical, and chronological data, which they provide. If the early Christians had no biographical interest, for what reason should they bother to declare constantly, directly, and indirectly, that they were eyewitnesses of the happenings concerning which they spoke and wrote? An interesting turn in recent study of the genre "gospel" is the conclusion that to most of the ancient readers—as is true of the average modern reader—the Gospels would have been taken as trustworthy accounts of Jesus' life, that is, "as biographical; and, in spite of the kerygmatic element, they were probably so intended."[70] However, it should be pointed out that those who affirm that the Gospels were intended to be biographies do not necessarily support the affirmation that they are historically accurate in all details.

Nevertheless, if we are to accept the Gospels as the inspired records and as the Word of God, we must recognize them as a faithful picture of Jesus. Under the superintendence of the Holy Spirit the NT writers have recorded eyewitness testimony and revelation concerning Jesus. The Gospels can be trusted therefore to convey a trustworthy, reliable, historical picture of Jesus Christ.[71]

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[67]Boman, pp. 15-28.

[68]R. Bultmann.

[69]E. V. McKnight.

[70]J. M. Suggs, "Gospel, Genre," IDB, Supp. (Nashville, 1976), p. 371.

[71]For critiques of Form Criticism, see: Carlston, p. 347; Guthrie, pp. 191-92; W. A. Maier, Form Criticism Reexamined (St. Louis, 1973); Josh McDowell, More Evidence That Demands a Verdict (San Bernardino, CA, 1975), 2:289-91; S. N. Gundry, "Equity of the Fundamental Assumption of Form Criticism," BS 489 (1966): 33-39; 490 (1966):140-49; B. Redlich, Form Criticism (Edinburgh, 1939), pp. 77-78; S. H. Travis, "Form Criticism," New

It must be recognized again that form criticism does not acknowledge the function of the divine inspiration of Scripture. It is not concerned with a better understanding of the Bible as the Word of God in the historical setting in which it was given, but views the Bible as a collection of writings produced by the ancient communities of Christians. Accordingly these ancient documents must be treated as any other ancient document.

R. Bultmann commented on the implications of a historical method that does not allow the divine to function in the Scriptures:

"The historical method includes the presupposition that history is a unity in the sense of a closed continuum. . . ."[72] In this "closed continuum" causes and effects are so related to each other that historical events cannot be explained as being caused by divine or transcendent powers. Accordingly, Bultmann claims, there can be no "miracles" caused supernaturally.

This presupposition removes God's direct activity from history as well as the superintendence of God through the Holy Spirit in the preservation and faithful transmission of the Gospel material. In contrast, the biblical reality denies the presupposition of a "closed continuum" on the immanental-horizontal level. It testifies time and again to the divine or vertical level, including supernatural causes that change history. As stated before, Scripture presents a union of the divine and the human and any method that separates one from the other is unfaithful to it as the Word of God.

Redaction Criticism of the New Testament

Terminology, Scope, and Purpose

Redaction criticism is a translation of the German Redaktionsgeschichte ("redaction history"), or Kompositionsgeschichte ("composition history"), more recently also designated in German as Redaktionskritik.[73]

Redaction criticism is a method of studying the NT that is dependent upon source criticism (or, more broadly, literary criticism) and form criticism.[74] It comes partially as a reaction to the latter, which viewed the writers of the Gospels as mere collectors but not as individuals or as schools that put their own theological stamp on the materials formed in the oral period. Redaction criticism, the most recent of the three historical-critical disciplines or procedures, came of age in the late 1940s and the 1950s.

Three scholars in Germany laid the foundation of this third historical procedure. G. Bornkamm of Heidelberg University, a leading member of the so-called Bultmann school, wrote an essay in 1948 comparing the stil-

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Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods, pp. 157-60.

[72]Bultmann, Existence and Faith (New York, 1960), p. 291-92.

[73]R. T. Fortna, "New Testament Redaction Criticism," IDB, Supp. (1976), p. 733.

[74]Ibid., p. 734.

ling of the storm in Matthew 8:23-27 with Mark 4:35-41, arguing that the former reinterprets the story of the latter and thereby gives it new meaning in its context in the Gospel of Matthew. Matthew is no mere collector, but an interpreter of previous tradition, and his modifications are indicative of his own theology.[75] Bornkamm was followed by H. Conzelmann on the theology of Luke (1953)[76] and W. Marxsen on the theology of Mark (1954).[77] It was the latter who coined the expression *Redaktionsgeschichte*, whereas in 1966 E. Haenchen proposed the term *Kompositionsgeschichte* for the new discipline.

Since the 1950s redaction criticism has become the most important area of gospel studies in the historical-critical tradition and its diachronic preoccupation. As noted above, it presupposes form criticism and source criticism and in general accepts the two-source (or four-source) hypothesis and Markan priority in the case of the Synoptics. Form criticism is based on the hypothesis that between the words and deeds of Jesus and the canonical Gospels stands a long and complex period of oral tradition that reflects for each story or saying the formative influence of the creative community, that is, its setting in life *(Sitz im Leben)*.[78]

Redaction criticism also posits a setting in life; however, it does not consider the setting in the life of Jesus nor does it study the supposed setting in life of the creative community as does form criticism; rather, it concentrates on the third setting in life—that of the individual writers.[79] The writers of the Gospels are seen as full-fledged theologians, no longer as mere "scissors-and-paste" men or simply collectors. "The evangelists are recognized as individual theologians"[80] who emphasized their own individual theological interests and practical needs, partly by direct modification of traditional material and partly by the way these materials were arranged and combined. As such, redaction criticism is "a method of studying the NT that concentrates on the way the principal author of a work has adapted [redacted] earlier materials to his own theological ends."[81]

This means that "redaction is the conscious reworking of older materials in such a way as to meet new needs. It is editing that does not simply compile or retouch but creatively transforms."[82] According to Dan O.

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[75]G. Bornkamm, "Die Sturmstillung im Matthäus Evangelium," *Werk und Dienst* (Bethel, 1948), pp. 49-54.

[76]Hans Conzelmann, *Die Mitte der Zeit* (Tübingen, 1954), Engl. tr. Geoffrey Buswell, *The Theology of St. Luke* (New York, 1961).

[77]W. Marxsen, *Der Evangelist Markus. Studien zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Evangeliums* (Göttingen, 1956), Engl. tr. Willi Marxsen, *Mark, the Evangelist* (Nashville, 1969).

[78]W. G. Doty, *Contemporary New Testament Interpretation* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1972), pp. 70-75.

[79]R. H. Stein, "What Is Redaktionsgeschichte?" JBL 88 (1969): 53.

[80]Ibid., p. 53.

[81]Ibid., p. 52.

[82]Fortna, p. 733.

Via, Jr., the goals of redaction criticism "are to understand why the items from the tradition were modified and connected as they were, to identify the theological motifs that were at work in composing a finished Gospel, and to elucidate the theological point of view which is expressed in and through the composition."[83]

Accordingly, it may be stated that redaction criticism seeks to find: (1) the unique theological views of the principal author of a NT work; (2) the special theological emphases placed by that author upon his sources, both oral and/or written; (3) the theological purpose(s) he may have had in mind; and (4) the life setting *(Sitz im Leben)* of the individual authors whom he used as sources.

Originally redaction criticism was limited to the Synoptics and Acts. But source-critical and form-critical studies in the Fourth Gospel have provided the basis for redaction criticism of John. Some study also has been extended to various letters of the NT which critics have regarded as having isolated sources or fixed traditions.

Redaction Criticism of the Synoptic Gospels

With the publication of the redaction-critical studies by G. Bornkamm, W. Marxsen, and H. Conzelmann in the late 1940s and 1950s, research in historical-critical study of the NT moved in an entirely new direction. It goes far beyond the space available at this time to review the redaction criticism of the three Synoptic Gospels even in a cursory manner. The detailed redaction criticism of the first three Gospels in the NT has adopted the so-called two-source (or four-source) hypothesis, as outlined above: that Matthew and Luke independently used Mark and the hypothetical source Q. This implies, of course, that if another solution to the question of sources is accepted redaction criticism will have to be done all over again in view of the new solution.

Redaction criticism in the case of Matthew and Luke is not primarily concerned with what they have in common with Mark; but with how they differ from the latter and from each other. This unique theology of each primary author is found in the seams connecting the various sayings or pericopes, in interpretative comments and summaries; in the modification, selection, omission, or addition of materials; in introductions, conclusions, vocabulary, choice of Christological titles, and the like.

It may be advisable to concentrate on the redaction criticism of Luke as an illustration of a concentration on the framework of his Gospel. H. Conzelmann presupposed the two-source hypothesis in his basic study, *The Theology of St. Luke*. He believed that Luke's theology could be discovered especially from his alterations and changes from his source—Mark. He contended that an examination of the way Luke manipulated his sources indicates his theological tendency and hence his theology.

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[83]"Foreword," in Norman Perrin, *What is Redaction Criticism?* (Philadelphia, 1969), pp. vi-vii.

On this basis Conzelmann argued that Luke eliminated the expectation of an imminent return of Christ with the end of the world. In its place Luke put a three-stage salvation history: (1) the Age of Israel, (2) the Age of Jesus, and (3) the Age of the Church. The Age of Jesus separates the Age of Israel from the Age of the Church and represents the "center" of salvation history. The Age of Jesus is a "Satan-free" age, whose limits are set by Luke 4:13 and 22:3, between Jesus' temptation and Satan's taking possession of Judas. All of this means in the end that early Christian eschatology of an imminent return of Christ was recast by Luke into a salvation history with a Parousia in the distant future. In the development of the supposed Lukan three-stage salvation history, Conzelmann had in effect rejected Luke 1-2 as an original part of the Gospel of Luke.[84]

Scholarly reaction to Conzelmann's construct has been extensive. Conzelmann has been challenged on every major point of his reconstruction: (1) Luke 1-2 has been used to indicate that the reconstruction of a three-stage salvation history is incompatible with the full text of Luke-Acts.[85] (2) The "Satan-free" Age of Jesus has been shown to be not at all Satan free because Jesus overpowers Satan (Luke 11:14-22; 13:11-17; 10:17).[86] (3) The "relaxed eschatology" in Luke-Acts as suggested by Conzelmann has been challenged by those who argue that Luke reacted against an over-realized eschatology where everything takes place in the present at the expense of a distant eschatological hope.[87] (4) The Age of Jesus is not the decisive eschatological event, but the decisive period in the course of salvation history.[88] (5) Luke did not invent salvation history. Salvation history already is present in Mark and Matthew.[89] Jesus' own preaching knows of both a penultimate and an ultimate act, that is, His death and resurrection and His Parousia at a later time in the unspecified future. (6) Luke's three-stage salvation history is corrected to a two-stage salvation history with an old aeon—the Age of Israel—and a new aeon—the Age of Jesus and His Church.[90] (7) Luke does not eliminate the redemptive significance of Jesus' death (Luke 22:19-20; Acts 20:28). (8) Luke does not

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[84]Conzelmann, pp. 27-207.

[85]W. G. Kümmel, "Futurische und präsentische Eschatologie im ältesten Urchristentum," NTS 5 (1958, 1959): 113ff.; H. Flender, *St. Luke: Theologian of Redemptive History* (London, 1967), pp. 123ff.

[86]S. Brown, *Apostasy and Perseverance in the Theology of Luke* (Rome, 1969).

[87]W. C. Robinson, *Der Weg des Herrn. Studien zur Geschichte und Eschatologie des Lukasevangeliums* (Hamburg, 1964) pp. 43-67; H. W. Bartsch, *Entwurf einer Auslegung des Lukasevangeliums* (Hamburg, 1963), p. 123.

[88]Kümmel, *Introduction to the NT*, p. 101.

[89]R. Walker, *Die Heilsgeschichte im ersten Evangelium* (Gottingen, 1967), pp. 115-17; W. G. Kümmel, *Promise and Fulfillment* (London, 1961), p. 77.

[90]Flender, pp. 123ff.

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reflect an apostolic succession, and his theology is not "early Catholic." (9) Luke's theology should not be sought only in places where he is different from his supposed sources; it also should be studied in areas where he reproduces tradition with little or no change. The fact that Luke has much material in common with the other Synoptics shows that he considered that material important. (10) The "assured result" of source criticism with a priority of Mark is made suspect by a number of studies in recent years. Many of the strictures advanced against redaction criticism in this instance have bearing on the redaction-critical method in general.

It may be appropriate to look at the redaction criticism of a well-known text in order to perceive how redaction criticism works. A prominent example is found in the text of the Great Commission of Matthew 28:16-20 which has been understood by some to be the key to the entire Gospel of Matthew.

Beginning with the early 1970s, a number of redaction-critical studies on this passage appeared. Since there is a lack of a direct parallel in the Synoptics, scholars have not been able to agree on whether Matthew invented these words[91] or whether there was a pre-Matthean tradition.[92] The latter scholars reconstruct a pre-Matthean tradition in the form of a protocommissioning which was something like Jesus appearing to the eleven who were glad to see Him although some disbelieved. Jesus addressed them, commissioning them to preach the gospel to all nations, to baptize in Jesus' name for the forgiveness of sins. Jesus then promised to send the Holy Spirit upon them.[93]

This proto-commission was not what Jesus actually said. It is no longer known what Jesus may have said and thus the proto-commission was one step removed from the actual account of an original disciple. Matthew became acquainted with the proto-commission and engaged in heavy redactional activity in which he added his own ideas concerning Christology, ecclesiology, and eschatology. In other words, Matthew invented and added to the proto-commission the declaration of authority (vs. 18b), the promise of Jesus' abiding presence (vs. 20b), and the geographical information (vs. 16), and introduced from other traditions the triadic baptismal formula (vs. 19b) and all the other elements, producing this grand summary of the whole gospel.

The discerning student of the Bible notices that a redaction-critical approach runs against the explicit statements and affirmations in Matthew 28:16-20. In this, as in other instances, redaction criticism refuses to accept the clear statement that here a word of Jesus is quoted by an eyewitness. Under normal circumstances an event is considered historical when its time and place can be ascertained. The redaction critic, however, proceeds on the principle that since Matthew 28:16-20 appears in but one Gospel, it is suspect. This reconstruction of the so-called proto-

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[91]J. Lange.

[92]G. Strecker, B. J. Hubbard, J. P. Meier.

[93]B. J. Hubbard.

commission of the pre-Matthean redaction is done largely by means of word statistics and stylistic peculiarities. The claim that a heavy concentration of words, style, and thought that are particularly Matthean presenting a good sign of Matthean redaction is a circular argument, because in most instances the words, style, and thought of Matthew are recovered already through ascribing them to Matthew; whereas the texts in their present form ascribe them to Jesus. One redaction critic admits that "the results of this method [of word statistics, style, and thought] are not unambiguous."[94] In this case, as usual, the careful student of the Bible must make a basic decision between the essential trustworthiness of the biblical record or the modernistic reconstruction which denies the most explicit affirmations of the biblical text.

Critique of Redaction Criticism

This critical evaluation will be limited to major points without surveying the full spectrum of problems and inadequacies of redaction criticism. Since redaction criticism "presupposes and continues the procedures of the earlier discipline [of form criticism],"[95] it also is faced with the same strictures and problems that were noted before when NT form criticism was discussed. It had been observed that the presuppositions of form criticism are alien to the self-testimony of Scripture. This also applies to redaction criticism.

Many redaction critics work on the principle that a saying of Jesus in the Gospels is nonauthentic until proven genuine. N. Perrin explicitly affirms this assumption. He argues that "the burden of proof must lay [sic] on the claim to authenticity"[96] and not on those who claim inauthenticity for the words of Jesus. This negativism regarding the genuineness of the sayings of Jesus is the key to the assumption that "many sayings now ascribed to Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels were composed at various stages in the transmission of the tradition. . . . This kind of composition also speaks volumes for the theological purpose of the author."[97]

The skepticism inherent in this principle—of inauthenticity with regard to the sayings of Jesus until they are proven to be authentic—makes room for both form criticism and redaction criticism, but is foreign to the gospel materials themselves. Likewise, the principles of redaction criticism that the geographical and biographical information serves only a theological interest without foundation in history is ill-founded.

Redaction criticism of the Synoptics has been bound to the two-source (or four-source) hypothesis.[98] Since the 1950s a significant assault has been made on this hypothesis with the result that "enough difficulties with

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[94]J. P. Meier.
[95]Via, in *What is Redaction Criticism?* p. vi.
[96]Perrin, *What is Redaction Criticism?* p. 70.
[97]Ibid., p. 66.
[98]Fortna, pp. 733-34.

Markan priority have emerged to render its position as an 'assured result' of criticism suspect and make it a questionable control on redaction-critical work."[99] Should the hypothesis of Markan priority have to be abandoned, then the foundation of the redaction criticism of the Synoptic Gospels is removed with devastating results for its practitioners.

N. Perrin, a leading exponent of redaction criticism, defined the method as "concerned with studying the theological motivation of an author as this is revealed in the collection, arrangement, editing, and modification of traditional material, and in the composition of new material or the creation of new forms within the traditions of early Christianity."[100]

More recently he finds this definition inadequate, at least for the study of the Gospel of Mark. "It does not do justice to the full range of the literary activity of the Evangelist as author; hence it cannot do justice to the full range of the text he has created. . . . It remains a fact that this means that less than justice is being done to the text of the Gospel as a coherent text with its own internal dynamics."[101] Redaction criticism is inadequate in general,[102] because it cannot do justice to the concerns of the texts of the Gospels in the settings in which they are presented.

Among the problems of redaction criticism is the subjective procedure it manifests. The first two decades of such study on Luke-Acts, for instance, has indicated that redaction-critical studies have been "like shifting sands"[103] with no general agreement among scholars on even the most basic issues of Lukan research.[104]

The issue is not whether the respective NT writers were theologians. Surely they were that in their own right, but they were historians as well.[105] They were also, and primarily, inspired writers. Just as the words of Jesus do not come from a nebulous past but show continuity with the One who spoke them, so there is a manifest continuity in other details of geographical, biographical, and related information.

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[99]C. H. Talbert, "Shifting Sands: The Recent Study of the Gospel of Luke," Int 30 (1976): 393.
[100]Perrin, *What is Redaction Criticism?* p. 1.
[101]N. Perrin, "The Interpretation of the Gospel of Mark," Int 30 (1976): 120.
[102]See particularly, J. Rohde, *Rediscovering the Teaching of the Evangelists* (Philadelphia, 1969); Stephen S. Smalley, "Redaction Criticism," *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods* (Grand Rapids, 1977), pp. 191-92. D. Guthrie, "The Historical and Literary Criticisms of the New Testament," in *Biblical Criticism: Historical, Literary and Textual*, eds. R. K. Harrison, Bruce B. Waltke, et al. (Grand Rapids, 1978), pp. 107-123.
[103]Talbert, p. 395.
[104]W. Ward Gasque, *A History of the Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids, 1975).
[105]I. Howard Marshall, *Luke, Historian and Theologian* (Grand Rapids, 1971); Guthrie, pp. 107-8.

Jesus taught by making His message relevant to His varied audiences on the various occasions to which the Gospel writers refer. In adapting His message to the various audiences and occasions[106] and also in speaking to future generations, Jesus' message takes different forms, arrangements, modifications and emphases. But always His message manifests basic continuity with Himself, the Jesus who walked the highways and byways of Palestine. Accordingly, the same saying, parable, or sermon may have been related differently by Jesus, depending on the situation and aims of the occasions when He spoke.

This means much in understanding the Gospels. At times there are two stories or circumstances that are basically alike but display certain differences. For example, in Luke 15:3-7 we have the parable of "the lost sheep" in the context of Jesus' justification of His receiving sinners despite the charges of the Pharisees and scribes (vs. 2). In the Gospel of Matthew (18:1-14) the same parable is told of Jesus' disciples (vss. 1, 10). The parable has different conclusions and emphases.

The content of the same parable is employed by Jesus on two different occasions, with different audiences and purposes. This change in emphasis is not the modification of Luke or Matthew or of others, but comes to them out of the setting in Jesus' life and work. The theological interests of Matthew and Luke respectively may be reflected in their selection, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, of a related parable from different circumstances in the life of Jesus. Each Gospel writer incorporated the parable he selected in his Gospel. Neither can be said to have manipulated or transformed the material. This kind of situation can be demonstrated time and again.

One conclusion that form critics have reached is that "The Gospels are not biographies of Jesus written for historical purposes by the original disciples of Jesus."[107] What usually is meant by the assertion that they are not biographies is that they have no interest in history, and that they are creations of the communities who had a need for them.[108]

Now the fact is that biography as a genre of literature "has only emerged in the last three centuries"[109] The form in which the biographer arranges documentary and other material to produce an integrated work is certainly a type of biography to which the Gospels can be broadly compared. They also follow a broad chronological sequence.[110]

The Gospels are not biographies in the sense of being free creations of the biographer's own words or in the sense of describing what Jesus looked like and how His interior and exterior life developed. But they are biographies in the sense that they follow a broad chronological sequence with reliable geographical and historical data that is accurate wherever it can be checked. Readers in modern times take them normally as biographical, just as readers in NT times would have taken them "as biographical; and, in spite of the kerygmatic element, they were probably so intended."[111] The Gospels are biographical. They provide the chief outlines of the origin, life, ministry of preaching and healing, and the passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus. But they are more than a biography, they are the inspired Word of God. They aim to report about Jesus as Christ and to bring about faith in Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour whose voice today as then awaits response and obedience and a preparation for His glorious return.

Although the four Gospels may not present as complete a picture of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus as modern readers desire, they are nevertheless authoritative, factual, and trustworthy accounts of real happenings. To explain the Gospels in terms of community creativity and the redaction of its traditions by the evangelists is to leave unexplained and inexplicable the origin of the church. The church is the product of Jesus' preaching of the gospel; the gospel message is not the product of the early church.

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[106]See A. J. Baird, *Audience Criticism and the Historical Jesus* (Philadelphia, 1969), pp. 166-68; Travis, p. 160.

[107]Edgar V. McKnight, *What is Form Criticism?* (Philadelphia, 1969), p. 2; cf. Dibelius, *Gospel Criticism and Christology*, p. 30; R. Bultmann and K. Kundsin, *Form Criticism* (New York, 1962), p. 45.

[108]Dibelius and Bultmann, n. 104 in this chap. and n. 144 in chap. 2.

[109]W. D. Davies, "Quest to be Resumed in New Testament Studies," USQ 15 (1960): 94.

[110]F. V. Filson, *Origins of the Gospels* (New York, 1938), p. 103.

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[111]Suggs, p. 371.

IV

PRESUPPOSITIONS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE
HISTORICAL–CRITICAL METHOD

Presuppositions and Principles Defined

The historical-critical method functions on the basis of a number of presuppositions that determine its principles of verification and interpretation. Their classical formulation was verbalized by the German theologian Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923) at the turn of the century.[1] Troeltsch himself on the basis of his critical studies later left his chair as theology professor and took a chair of philosophy. The "scientific" approach which he popularized looks at the Bible as a volume of documents from the past to be studied by the same principles as any other ancient national document, namely: (1) the principle of correlation; (2) the principle of analogy; and (3) the principle of criticism.[2]

Principle of Correlation

Ernst Troeltsch states that the "principle of correlation" means "that the phenomena of man's historical life are so related and interdependent that no radical change can take place at any one point in the historical nexus without affecting a change in all that immediately surrounds it."[3] Accordingly the principle of correlation functions on the basis of "the reciprocity of all manifestations of spiritual-historical life."[4] Van Harvey expounds, "On the basis of the principle of correlation, Troeltsch argued that no event or text can be understood unless it is seen in terms of its historical context. This meant . . . (1) that no critical historian could make use of supernatural intervention as a principle of historical explanation because this shattered the continuity of the causal nexus, and (2) that no event could be regarded as a final revelation of the absolute spirit, since every manifestation of truth and value was relative and historically conditioned."[5] On the basis of these explanations it is evident that the principle of correlation denies that there can be a divine cause for an event. Van Harvey even reminds his readers that the famous neo-orthodox theologian Karl Barth accepted this rejection of divine activity in history.[6]

Rudolf Bultmann, renowned NT scholar of this century, is known, of course, for his rejection of supernaturalism which is linked to his program of demythologization. Bultmann made his position clear in these key sentences: "The historical [critical] method includes the presupposition that history is a unity in the sense of a closed continuum of effects in which individual events are connected by the succession of cause and effect . . . and thus to understand the whole historical process as a closed unity. This closedness means that the continuum of historical happenings cannot be rent by the interference of supernatural, transcendent powers and that therefore there is no 'miracle' in this sense of the word. Such a miracle would be an event whose cause did not lie within history."[7] It is interesting to note that Bultmann affirms that "the Old Testament narrative speaks of an interference by God in history," but he claims that historical-critical "science cannot demonstrate such an act of God, but merely perceives that there are those who believe in it."[8] Thus for both Barth and Bultmann history is viewed as a closed unity of causes and effects in which there is no room for God to act supernaturally or by miracle. This position is shared by Ebeling, Funk, and Van Harvey, among many others.

Although we have restricted our discussion so far to the principle of correlation and its meaning and significance in Troeltsch and Bultmann, aside from others of our time, we would be totally mistaken to believe that the principle of correlation no longer functions in biblical study. In 1976 J. Maxwell Miller, Professor of OT Studies at Emory University, wrote a monograph called *The Old Testament and the Historian*. He addresses the issue of the contemporary historian's approach and states that "he is inclined to disregard the supernatural or miraculous in his treatment of past events."[9]

Miller makes clear that the Bible is full of references to divine activity in history and affirms that this poses a problem for the contemporary historian.[10] While the contemporary historian may not specifically deny the supernatural or miraculous, nevertheless it usually is disregarded. "Some historians," he states, "are more cautious than others in their sifting out of the supernatural and miraculous elements"[11] in the biblical sources. These historians suggest that either God "worked 'indirectly' through natural phenomena" or they "leave the question of his involvement open altogether."[12] Miller himself leaves little room for the activity of God in history.

The Bible is taken by the historical-critic as a document of the past that needs to be treated as any other ancient document. It must be studied

[1] R. H. Bainton, "E. Troeltsch—Thirty Years After," TToday 8 (1951): 70–96.

[2] E. Troeltsch, "Uber historische und dogmatische Methode in der Theologie," *Gesammelte Schriften* 2 (Tubingen, 1913): 729–53, reprinted in Gerhard Sauter, ed., *Theologie als Wissenschaft* (Munich, 1971), pp. 105–127.

[3] Troeltsch, vol. 2, p. 733.

[4] Ibid., p. 732.

[5] Van A. Harvey, *The Historian and the Believer*, (New York, 1966), pp. 29–30.

[6] Ibid., pp. 30–31.

[7] R. Bultmann, *Existence and Faith* (New York, 1960), pp. 291–92.

[8] Ibid., p. 292.

[9] J. Maxwell Miller, *The Old Testament and the Historian* (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 13.

[10] Ibid., pp. 16–17.

[11] Ibid., p. 17.

[12] Ibid.

with the same method--the historical-critical method and the procedures discussed previously. "To take the Bible like any other human book means that everything that is reported in it is conditioned by human forces or can be explained by *this-worldly* factors."[13]

This is another way of describing the principle of correlation and its concomitant antisupernaturalism. If this principle is accepted, it follows that "if an other-worldly [or divine] cause has played a role, it cannot be analized [sic] historically, and for this reason we have to presuppose that this other-worldly [or divine] factor, if there is one, has made use only of this-worldly [or natural] means."[14]

Professor Miller reminds us that when the historical-critical method of inquiry is analyzed with regard to its presuppositions, it becomes apparent that more is involved than simple disregard of the supernatural or skepticism regarding miracles. This methodology presupposes, for one thing, that all historical phenomena are subject to " 'analogous' explanation--that is, explanation in terms of other similar phenomena."[15] This points us to the second key principle of the historical-critical method--the principle of analogy.

Principle of Analogy

E. Troeltsch explained that the "principle of analogy" refers to "the fundamental homogeneity of all historical events"[16] in the sense, to use the words of Van Harvey, "that we are able to make . . . judgments of probability only if we presuppose that our present experience is not radically dissimilar to the experience of past persons."[17] In plain terms the principle of analogy attempts to know the past through human experiences of the present. Therefore the present is the key to our knowledge of the past.

How does the principle of analogy square with the NT when it is taken at face value? Van Harvey states that "without the principle of analogy, it seems impossible to understand the past; if, however, one employs the principle of analogy, it seems impossible to do justice to the alleged uniqueness of Jesus Christ."[18]

Evidently the principle of analogy poses a monstrous dilemma: One must choose between the NT picture of the uniqueness of Jesus or the employment of the principle of analogy!

For Troeltsch, the principle of analogy "implies the identity in principle of all historical happening."[19] The movement from the known to the

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[13]S. Erlandsson, "Is There Ever Biblical Research Without Presuppositions?" *Themelios* 7 (1971): 24 (italics his).

[14]Ibid.

[15]Miller, p. 18.

[16]Troeltsch, vol. 2, p. 732.

[17]Harvey, p. 14.

[18]Ibid., p. 32.

[19]Troeltsch, vol. 2, p. 732.

unknown[20] is based upon the identity of all historical happenings in human experience. Troeltsch assigns to this principle the function of "omnipotence."[21] Thus Troeltsch and his followers replace the omnipotence of God in His words and acts with the omnipotence of the modern historian who interprets the past by means of an omnipotent principle of analogy.

Accordingly, the modern historical-critic assumes that the events recorded in the Bible must be understood as analogous or similar to the happenings of the present. However, if one accepts at face value the biblical affirmation of the divine-human nature of Jesus, His divine-human origin, the supernatural events of His miracles and healings, and His predicted death and bodily resurrection, the principle of analogy is shattered.

Criticism of the principle of analogy involves many facets. We may mention only a few. The principle of analogy has adopted the wrong starting point by taking its norm from that which exists in the present, for it assumes that that which is known and which is nearest at hand is the universal key to all reality including that of God. Such an assumption negates the possibility that God may manifest Himself in different ways at different times and places. H. E. Weber objected to the use of the principle of analogy in historical thought on the basis of its "one-sided orientation to contemporary sense experience" making it "an expression of the idea of immanence."[22] In other words, there is also a supernatural causality that cannot be left out of consideration in the understanding of total reality as revealed in the Bible. If God's direct action in human affairs is excluded from the start as is done with the principle of analogy and its "fundamental homogeneity of all historical events,"[23] then the originality, novelty, and uniqueness of the Christian faith as based upon the self-revelation of God is ruled out.

In addition, no man at present knows the totality of the experiences of the many cultures and societies so as to judge what is analogous and what is not, and so as to determine which forces could have shaped history and which ones could not. Furthermore, the principle of analogy is inadequate because it emphasizes analogy and homogeneity at the expense of dissimilarities, particularities, and uniquenesses.[24]

Finally, the presupposition that the past has to conform to the present or the present is indeed a guide to the past is to be questioned. Neither our experience nor our knowledge is sufficiently universal to make it possible to have the master key to the past. We live in a world of immense specialization in which it is difficult to keep up with one's own narrow field of expertise. This also makes the principle of analogy break down at its core.

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[20]Ibid.,

[21]Ibid.,

[22]H. E. Weber, *Bibelglaube und historisch-kritische Schriftforschung* (Gütersloh, 1931), p. 69.

[23]Troeltsch, vol. 2, p. 732.

[24]T. Peters, "The Use of the Principle of Analogy in Historical Method," CBQ 35 (1973): 473-82.

Despite these recent reactions, one should not assume that the principle of analogy has been replaced or is about to be deleted from the historical-critical method. This principle is so basic that the method stands or falls with it.

Principle of Criticism

The third principle of the historical-critical method is the principle of criticism, according to which, in the words of Van Harvey, "our judgments about the past cannot simply be classified as true or false but must be seen as claiming only a greater or lesser degree of probability and as always open to revision."[25] Inherent in this is the relativity of our knowledge and therefore the tentativeness of judgments and convictions.[26]

According to some philosophers of history, the principle of criticism is to be applied psychologically in order to determine (1) what the author of a document meant, (2) whether he believed what he said, and (3) whether his belief was justified. The latter question assumes the priority of human reason over Scripture.

Since these principles were stated in their classical form in 1898, it might be expected that they are dated and no longer considered valid. Although scholars have both reiterated and reacted against these principles, it is by no means a foregone conclusion that they are historical relics which no longer determine historical-critical scholarship of our day. A few examples from contemporary leading scholars demonstrate that these principles still are determinative in general for the historical-critical method as applied to the study of the Bible and theology.

In 1950 the world-renowned systematic theologian G. Ebeling defended the historical-critical method as appropriate for biblical study and relevant for theology.[27] The well-known NT scholar Robert W. Funk, formerly of Vanderbilt University and now of the University of Montana, stated in 1964 that "the historian cannot presuppose supernatural intervention in the causal nexus of his work."[28]

This statement reiterates the principle of correlation and employs terminology almost identical to that of R. Bultmann. Funk hereby means that the NT scholar functions as a secular historian and thus has a closed system of understanding history which leaves no room for divine activity that shapes history through divine word or deed.

In the year 1966 Van A. Harvey, professor of Religious Thought at the University of Pennsylvania, published his influential and widely acclaimed book, *The Historian and the Believer*. It deals with the confrontation

[25]Harvey, p. 14.
[26]L. Gilkey, *Naming the Whirlwind* (New York, 1969), pp. 48-63.
[27]G. Ebeling, *Word and Faith* (Philadelphia, 1963), pp. 17-61.
[28]R. W. Funk, "The Hermeneutical Problem and Historical Criticism," *The New Hermeneutic*, eds. J. M. Robinson and J. B. Cobb, Jr. (New York, 1964), p. 185.

between the principles of human judgment (criticism) and the Christian's will to believe. In the opening chapters Van Harvey surveys from Troeltsch to the present the relationship to the development of theology and biblical interpretation of the three principles of the historical-critical method. He states, for example, that if we "employ the principle of analogy, it seems impossible to do justice to the alleged uniqueness of Jesus Christ,"[29] which means that Jesus Christ would not be the unique divine-human Saviour, His birth could not be the result of the work of the Holy Spirit, nor could His miracles be accepted as anything more than events explainable on the basis of natural causes.

Recent Reactions and Criticisms to the Historical-Critical Method

Reactions and Criticisms From Within the Historical-Critical Method

It would be a great misunderstanding to suppose that these three pillars of the historical-critical method no longer function today. To the contrary, these principles, although sometimes qualified, are widely used. For example, E. Krentz, Professor of NT at the former Christ Seminary in St. Louis, is a strong advocate of the historical-critical method. Krentz was formerly a professor at Concordia Theological Seminary which, in the early to middle 1970s experienced a major crisis concerning the use of the historical-critical method. This crisis finally led to mass resignations by faculty members who employed the method.

Krentz defends the continuing relevance of the principles of correlation, analogy, and criticism in the historical-critical method. His book, *The Historical-Critical Method*,[30] published in 1975, is a must for those who would like to be informed on the origin, development, and usage of that method by an insider. E. H. Carr is another example of a scholar who defends the basic principles of historical criticism. In his influential book on the nature of history,[31] he denies any interference by "some super-historical force" whether it is "the God of a Chosen People, a Christian God, the Hidden Hand of the Deist, or Hegel's World Spirit."[32] Van Harvey, as noted above, also supports this view and holds that divine activity or interference in history has a falsifying effect[33] on historical study. Although Van Harvey suggests that miracle cannot be ruled out as a logical possibility, "still nothing can be said in [its] favor and a great deal counts against it."[34] For Van Harvey it also remains true that "the historian

[29]Harvey, p. 32.
[30](Philadelphia, 1975).
[31]E. H. Carr, *What Is History?* (Hammondsworth, 1964).
[32]Quoted in Krentz, p. 59.
[33]Harvey, pp. 107-115.
[34]Ibid., pp. 85-88.

makes his judgments against the background of present knowledge."[35]

Others also recognize the logical possibility of miracles or causes that are beyond human reason,[36] that is of reality that does not fit the categories of modern man, but these causes or events are not brought into the development of a view of history. The supernatural does not have a causal role. The views of Troeltsch, Bultmann, Barth, Carr, Bloch, Harvey, and many others, preclude the possibility that the scriptural view in which God acted miraculously in history can be incorporated into the historical-critical method.

There are scholars today who call this view of history with its closed cause and effect continuum, that is, "historicism," into question. For example, Krentz notes that J. A. Hexter's work, *Doing History*,[37] "leaves room for the theological claim of the Bible."[38] However, as will become apparent, leaving room for divine activity or causality in historical method and using a method that is thoroughly grounded in the biblical view of history are two rather different matters.

The theologian Wolfhart Pannenberg of the University of Munich, who lectures extensively in the United States, has complained about the anthropocentric nature of the historical-critical method.[39] The principle of analogy which makes contemporary human sense experience the key to knowledge gives the historical-critical method its anthropocentric structure.[40]

The analogical construct assumes the homogeneity of all knowledge and reality is an activity of man and thus anthropocentric, an activity "from below."[41] Pannenberg would like to limit the anthropocentricity of the historical-critical method by qualifying its procedure "from below," which relies on experience closest to us, with a procedure "from above," from the side of God. One's procedures should be open to transcendence.[42] Although "true knowledge of God is obtained from this history [revelational, biblical] for the first time, . . ."[43] nonetheless, even analogies from above are dependent on analogies from below. Thus Pannenberg ultimately opts for a qualified anthropocentricity: "All statements about the redemptive event remain bound to analogies 'from below,' whose applicability is subject to the procedures of historical criticism."[44] This is a clear affirmation, despite the lamented anthropocentric or human-centered procedure

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[35]Ibid., p. 87.

[36]Carr, pp. 102-4, talks about "accident." Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (Manchester, 1954), pp. 130-32, speaks of "coincidence."

[37](Bloomingdale, IN, 1971).

[38]Krentz, p. 61.

[39]Wolfhart Pannenberg, "Redemptive Event and History," *Basic Questions in Theology* (Philadelphia, 1970), 1:15-95.

[40]Ibid., pp. 43-45.

[41]Ibid., pp. 53-66.

[42]Ibid., pp. 52-53.

[43]Ibid., p. 53.

[44]Ibid.

of the historical-critical method, that Scripture is still subject to the man-centered and limiting principle of analogy which judges past phenomena by present experiences regardless of the limitations of contemporary human sense experience. The autonomy of present experience remains superior to the autonomy of the Bible as the divine and unique revelation of God.

Another major voice in today's debate on the adequacy of the historical-critical method for the study of the Bible is NT scholar Peter Stuhlmacher of Tubingen University, several of whose works are translated into English. Stuhlmacher does not deny the historical-critical method as such. Nevertheless he does not shy away from pointing to a "catalogue of vices" of this method. He is frank enough to state that he wishes to come "to terms with the dilemma of historical criticism."[45] What is this dilemma? The historical-critical method imprisons the Bible in the past, making it dependent on its surroundings, which thus renders it but a human production which is thereby unable to speak with authority to contemporary man.[46] In addition, he notes that the fragmentation of the biblical materials and the painful separation of its meaning in the past from the man of today marks "the end of the labor of a theological discipline which has abolished its relevance by its critical work."[47]

Stuhlmacher believes there is still time for a way out of this dilemma which has such serious consequences "for colleagues in the discipline, for pastors performing their office, and for students, [for whom] historical criticism is the agent of a repeated and growing rupture of vital contact between biblical tradition and our own time."[48] The solution is "self-criticism," "self-correction," and "reform"[49] which results from adding a fourth principle to the three principles of correlation, analogy, and criticism. The fourth principle is that "of consent and of hearing,"[50] which provides "hermeneutics of consent . . . open to the language of transcendence."[51]

Stuhlmacher thus attempts to be open to some form of transcendence by a moving away from historicism with its closed continuum of cause and effect limited totally to nature and man. He suggests that the historical-critical method needs revision and changes lest it lead "to the fall of New Testament research,"[52] and we may add OT research as well. He also calls for a "critical reflection about the supportability of the basic principles" of form criticism.[53] In the final analysis he maintains that redaction criti-

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[45]P. Stuhlmacher, *Historical Criticism and Theological Interpretation of Scripture* (Philadelphia, 1977), p. 17.

[46]Ibid., pp. 61-65.

[47]Ibid., p. 76.

[48]Ibid., p. 65.

[49]Ibid., p. 70.

[50]Ibid., p. 88.

[51]Ibid., p. 89.

[52]P. Stuhlmacher, *Schriftauslegung auf dem Wege zur biblischen Theologie* (Göttingen, 1975), p. 51.

[53]Ibid., p. 55.

cism still needs "a clarification of its methodological procedures."[54]

It is evident that Stuhlmacher belongs to those scholars who have second thoughts about the adequacy of the historical-critical method, yet at the same time neither he nor many others are willing to abandon it. The historical-critical method needs change, correction, and enlargement in Stuhlmacher's view.

Stuhlmacher's fourth principle of consent and hearing remains problematical. The scholar is to give consent to divine reality; he is not to work in the framework of a closed continuum of human causes and effects but to be "open to the language of transcendence." What does this mean? Is it but the "language of transcendence" or is it transcendence at work in such a way that all else is changed and transformed? Stuhlmacher's most recent critical work shows little of actually overcoming the dilemma which he describes so eloquently of the historical-critical method.

Other critical scholars also feel that the historical-critical method is in trouble. Erich Grasser, NT scholar at Gottingen University, notes along similar lines that the "historical-critical method needs to be enlarged and supplemented, but one must not do away with it."[55] Ferdinand Hahn, NT scholar at the University of Bonn, emphasizes that scholars are at a loss as to where to begin with such problems of the historical-critical method[56] as the dilemma it presents of imprisoning Scripture in the past in such a way that Scripture is not relevant for the present.[57] These voices can be multiplied from the Continent[58] and North America.[59]

Edgar Krentz, the foremost American defender of the historical-critical method, lists major objections to it. We will summarize several: (1) The historical-critical method is "secular and profane and so will destroy faith by shaking the old traditions, the landmarks of faith."[60]

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[54]Ibid., p. 56.

[55]E. Grässer, "Von der Exegese zur Predigt," *Wissenschaft und Praxis in Kirche und Gesellschaft* 60 (1971): 35.

[56]F. Hahn, "Probleme historischer Kritik," ZNW 63 (1973): 1-17.

[57]Ibid., p. 6.

[58]For example, F. Mildenberger, "Die Gegenläufigkeit von historischer Methode und kirchlicher Anwendung als Problem der Bibelauslegung," *Theologische Beiträge* 3 (1972): 57-64; F. Beisser, "Irrwege und Wege der historisch-kritischen Bibelwissenschaft: Auch ein Vorschlag zur Reform des Theologiestudiums," ZST 15 (1973): 192-214; E. Schweizer, "Die historisch-kritische Bibelwissenschaft und die Verkündigungsaufgabe der Kirche," *Neotestamentica* (Zürich, 1963), pp. 139-42, et al.

[59]John E. Benson, "The History of the Historical-Critical Method in the Church: A Survey," *Dialog* 12 (1973): 94-103; O. C. Edwards, "Historical-Critical Method's Failure of Nerve and a Prescription for a Tonic: A Review of Some Recent Literature," ATR 59 (1977): 115-34; Hans Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative* (New Haven, 1974).

[60]Krentz, p. 67, who cites Günther Bornkamm, "Die ökumenische Bedeutung der historisch-kritischen Bibelwissenschaft," *Geschichte und*

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(2) Faith and the historical-critical method have differing means of determining reality. Thus, acceptance of historical criticism leads the Christian into intellectual dualism and forces him to live in two worlds that clash.[61] (3) Historicist axioms claiming a closed continuum of cause and effect without the interference of transcendence do not measure up to the claim of Scripture that "God does his work of grace and judgment not outside man and so, too, not beyond history, but in and through it."[62] (4) The assumption of the principle of analogy that all historical events in history whether past or present are homogeneous is a problem. Some scholars still affirm it (Bultmann, Van Harvey, Miller, etc.) while other scholars demand that history must be allowed the possibility of divine action (Pannenberg, Moltmann, Krentz, etc.).[63] (5) The historicist assumption that miracles are impossible is another problem. In principle "the possibility of miracle is allowed, although each miracle reported in the Bible is judged on the basis of the evidence presented."[64] (6) The evaluation of the validity or adequacy of what a biblical author says, technically called "content criticism" *(Sachkritik)*, is a methodological procedure which ultimately is "a means of controlling or even suppressing a part of the text."[65] (7) "Another problem is the tendency to exalt historical criticism as the only legitimate way to read the Bible. The result is that the Bible is a specialist's book and no longer the treasure of the church."[66] Common people, however, still read the Bible as the Word of God for them.

Krentz and others make some attempt either to answer these objections, alter them by suggesting modifications in the method, justify them, or relativize their import. It is not our purpose here to engage in this ongoing debate. Nevertheless it is evident that these objections raised by various scholars in recent times are formidable and forceful, demonstrating the depth of the crisis of the historical-critical method.

British Conservative Reactions and Criticisms

There is a British school of thought which does not espouse the historical-critical method as practiced by main-line historical critics. However, although attempting to qualify or moderate the presupposition of the historical-critical method, this more moderate or mediating school of thought is nonetheless committed to the use of the historical-critical method.

Gordon Wenham of the Queen's University in Belfast is a well-known

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Glaube (Munich, 1971), 2:14.

[61]Krentz, p. 68, who cites among others Martin Franzmann, "The Hermeneutical Dilemma: Dualism in the Interpretation of Scripture," CTM 36 (1965): 502-533.

[62]Adolf Schlatter, quoted in Krentz, pp. 68-69.

[63]Krentz, p. 69.

[64]E. Dinkler in Krentz, p. 70.

[65]Krentz, p. 71.

[66]Ibid.

OT scholar. Among his publications is a recent essay entitled, "History and the Old Testament."[67] He discusses such methods of OT criticism as source criticism, form criticism, tradition criticism, redaction criticism, and historical criticism.[68] He points to the problems of subjectivism in these procedures[69] and asks that literary, tradition, and historical criticism be made more exact with the aid of new evidence from the Near East and modern advances in linguistics.[70] He claims that faith needs the critical study of the Bible,[71] even though criticism is supposedly a servant of faith.[72] He suggests also that a Christian for whom the truth and inspiration of the OT is founded on the teaching of his Lord is not obliged, nevertheless, to "believe that every narrative in the Old Testament must necessarily be regarded as a record of a historical event."[73] Conservative Christians frequently have appealed to Jesus' teaching to authenticate the OT "as if that eliminated the problem."[74] This approach is not to be followed, argues Wenham, because the alleged errors in the OT "cast doubt on Jesus."[75] "If Christ was wrong in what he taught about the Bible, might he not be wrong in what he taught about other matters—the character of God, his own person, sin and salvation, heaven and hell, forgiveness and ethics?"[76] If we cannot or should not appeal to Jesus for authenticity and truth, where is our court of appeal? Wenham answers, "It is only by taking Old Testament criticism seriously that we may hope to answer both the believer's doubts about the truth of the Old Testament and about the reliability of Christ as a teacher."[77]

For Wenham's neo-evangelical approach to the Bible, criticism is the norm for the establishment of truth about Scripture and Christ—biblical criticism establishes the truth of the Bible. Does not such an approach subject biblical truth to norms of criticism? Is not truth thereby relativized? The norm for faith and truth, even in this supposedly evangelical approach, is available only by means of criticism! The Bible has lost its normative role even with this moderate use of the historical-critical method.

I. Howard Marshall, an eminent British evangelical NT scholar, is the

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[67] Gordon Wenham, "History and the Old Testament," in *History, Criticism and Faith*, ed. Colin Brown (Leicester, 1967), pp. 13-75. The evangelical emphasis of Wenham is vouchsafed through his membership in the Tyndale Fellowship.

[68] Ibid., pp. 34-45.

[69] Wenham sees fewer problems with subjectivity in textual criticism. Ibid., p. 62.

[70] Ibid., p. 65.

[71] Ibid., p. 33.

[72] Ibid., p. 65.

[73] Ibid., p. 33.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid., p. 32.

[77] Ibid., p. 33.

editor of the widely read volume, *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods*, which appeared in 1977 concurrently in England and the U.S.A. It contains 18 essays of which the dust jacket claims that they are "a succinct yet comprehensive guide to the best of recent evangelical thinking about how the New Testament is to be interpreted." Among these essays are those on source criticism, form criticism, tradition criticism, redaction criticism, and historical criticism.

It would go far beyond the limitations imposed upon us to describe the formulation which this volume gives to these various approaches. We will therefore confine ourselves to a consideration of the evaluation which these evangelical scholars give to the major issues of the historical-critical approach as practiced by non-evangelical scholars.

We have seen that a recurring problem is the supernatural and the miraculous. Marshall addresses this subject as follows: "The conservative scholar accepts the possibility, and indeed, the probability, of the supernatural. . . . As a Christian historian he cannot rule the supernatural out of court in his attempt to furnish a historical account of the phenomena behind the NT. To do so would be to provide a naturalistic explanation of what, as a Christian, he believes to be supernatural; . . ."[78]

"If the historical critic is convinced of the reality of the incarnation, he will account for certain events as miraculous without any sense of incongruity or lack of historical sense."[79] Does this mean every miracle recorded in the NT is to be accepted as fact? Marshall answers unambiguously in the negative, "What appeared miraculous to the contemporaries of Jesus may in some cases be better explained in terms of insights derived from psychosomatic medicine."[80] Furthermore, "the nature of the evidence may be such that an account of the miraculous is not to be taken at face value."[81] As an example for the latter situation, Marshall refers to Mark 5:1-20 and Matthew 8:28-34. Matthew's description reports the healing of two Gadarene demoniacs, whereas Mark mentions only one. Matthew's account is, in Marshall's view, "highly unlikely . . . as historical."[82]

Why, we may ask, should Matthew's account not be accepted at face value? Why must we reject Matthew's record as an actual account of the miracle of the healing of two demoniacs? As a solution to this problem, it has been suggested that "contradictory statements may often prove to be not contradictory at all, but rather complementary."[83] Matthew may indeed have been an eyewitness and therefore mentions two men,[84] while

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[78] I. Howard Marshall, "Historical Criticism," *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods*, ed. I. Howard Marshall (Grand Rapids, 1977), pp. 134-35.

[79] Ibid., p. 135.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid., p. 137, n. 22.

[83] 5BC 306.

[84] Ibid., p. 603.

Mark and Luke "center attention on the more prominent and outspoken of the two, the one whose demonic occupants called themselves 'Legion.' "[85]

In any case, moderate evangelicals such as Marshall, using historical judgments stemming from a moderated historical-critical method that allows for the supernatural and for miracles, can deny the miraculous in the NT and assign it either to psychosomatic medicine or to the unhistorical. Thus while an evangelical scholar such as Marshall does not a priori rule out the supernatural, he does subject biblical accounts of God's supernatural activity to human reason by his use of a moderated historical-critical method. It appears that such an approach essentially agrees with the critic's historicist methods but applies them more moderately or conservatively. Could it be basically such a moderated approach is essentially still in the same epistemological, philosophical, and methodological camp? Although the starting point allows for the supernatural to be active and the approach appears to be more moderated or conservative, has not human reason been made to be both the foundation and the final court of appeal? It appears that this is true in Marshall's case, as is borne out in other publications.

In his book, *I Believe in the Historical Jesus* (1977), Marshall outlines the dialectical relationship between historical study and faith, expressing his conviction that a study of Jesus by means of historical science is valid and that a moderate use of form and redaction criticism is to be affirmed. Marshall is more or less typical of the moderate use of historical-critical methods in British scholarship among those who call themselves evangelicals.

Reactions and Criticisms From Without the Historical-Critical Method

We need to give attention now to the recently deceased American NT scholar George Eldon Ladd of Fuller Theological Seminary in California. He is a recognized authority in evangelical NT scholarship. Among his several books is one which carries the title, *The New Testament and Criticism*, published in 1967. This book has been influential in American evangelical Christian circles and schools.

The author believes that "the orthodox interpretation of the Gospel can be defended positively and constructively only with the aid of a sound critical method and the results of critical scholarship."[86] Ladd affirms that "the presuppositions of the historical-critical method have been often hostile to an evangelical view of the Bible."[87] He suggests that "the [historical-critical] method as such is not hostile to an evangelical faith, but the method as employed within certain non-evangelical philosophical pre-

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[85]Gleason L. Archer, *Encyclopedia of Bible Difficulties* (Grand Rapids, 1982), p. 325.

[86]Quoted from the dust jacket of G. E. Ladd, *The New Testament and Criticism* (Grand Rapids, 1967).

[87]Ladd, p. 10.

suppositions about the nature of God, history, and revelation."[88] Ladd is quite correct in his assessment that the philosophical presuppositions of the historical-critical method are antagonistic to the Bible as the Word of God and are to be rejected by evangelicals.

Ladd sees the major problem in the thoroughgoing presupposition that "the Bible must be viewed only as the words of men"[89] which thus surrendered "the Bible as the Word of God."[90] He underlines the fact that the historical critic investigates the documents of the Bible as the words of men. In addition, he states that "the historical-critical method, strictly interpreted, is based upon a rationalistic view of history, and is incapable of accepting the biblical witness of God's acts in history."[91] This means that "the proponents of a thorough-going historical-critical method have insisted that historical study must be free from the restraint of any theological dogma, particularly from any doctrine of an inspired Scripture."[92]

At these points Ladd disagrees with the presuppositions of the historical-critical method which he summarizes as (1) philosophical presuppositions and (2) a rationalistic view of history. These foundational problems, Ladd says, deny from the very start (1) that the Bible is the inspird Word of God and (2) that God truly acted in history. Accordingly, the historical-critical method, "which prides itself in its objectivity turns out to be in the grip of dogmatic philosophical ideas about the nature of history"[93] which limits "its findings to the exclusion of the central biblical message."[94] He notes perceptively that the results of the historical-critical method miss that which is central to the biblical message.

Ladd rejects the historical-critical method. He calls for a method that has new presuppositions. Among these are the following: (1) The supernaturalism of the Bible must be affirmed as part of the method.[95] (2) "The Bible is the Word of God given in the words of men in history."[96] (3) Philosophical presuppositions hostile to Scripture as the inspired Word of God must be abandoned.[97] (4) The Gospels must be interpreted "as they stand as credible reports of Jesus and his preaching."[98] The latter severely limits and transforms NT form criticism and redaction criticism. His monumental tome, *A Theology of the New Testament* (1974) which includes Ladd's lifework, gives no evidence whatsoever of the use of standard form criticism or redaction criticism.

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[88]Ibid., p. 11.

[89]Ibid., p. 12.

[90]Ibid., p. 13.

[91]Ibid., p. 53.

[92]Ibid., p. 40.

[93]G. E. Ladd, "The Search for Perspective," Int 25 (1971): 51.

[94]Ibid., p. 52.

[95]Ladd, *NT and Criticism*, p. 40.

[96]Ibid., p. 12.

[97]Ibid., p. 53.

[98]G. E. Ladd, *The Presence of the Future* (Grand Rapids, 1974), p. xiv.

Does this mean that the historical-critical method is acceptable to Ladd providing that the historicist presuppositions are replaced with new presuppositions adequate to Scripture? Does Ladd envision an adequate corrected and revised historical-critical method which, although based upon new presuppositions is nonetheless sufficiently in continuity with what is generally practiced as historical-critical to be called by that name? This is not the view of Ladd. He is fully aware that methods are determined by and inseparably joined to their presuppositions. Therefore, he abandons the historical-critical method which is the result of "rationalistic scholarship,"[99] stating "that the definition of terms is highly important; and it is for this reason that the present writer would suggest that the term 'historical-theological criticism,' which recognizes the revelatory dimensions in biblical history and the revelatory nature of the Bible, . . ."[100] take its place. Ladd's book is not "a sort of compromise between an evangelical and a critical view of the Bible" and, therefore, he notes emphatically, "We have chosen to call [it] a historical-theological methodology."[101]

Ladd develops his "historical-theological methodology" or, as he also calls it, the "historical-theological criticism" under the subjects of "textual criticism,"[102] "linguistic criticism,"[103] "literary criticism,"[104] "form criticism,"[105] "historical criticism,"[106] and "comparative religions criticism."[107] This approach has been referred to by E. Krentz under the heading, "The Uneasy Truce of Conservatism,"[108] who incorrectly suggests that Ladd argues that "the helpful results of historical criticism should encourage conservatives to use the [historical-critical] method, purifying it of its rationalistic presuppositions with the conviction that the Bible 'is the Word of God in the words of men.'"[109]

Instead of encouraging the use of the historical-critical method with new presuppositions, Ladd repudiates "the historical-critical method for 'historical-theological criticism' as an alternative, . . ."[110] Whatever "truce" there might be as Krentz supposes, it is not by the American scholar Ladd whose redefinition of the various forms of "criticism" change them so fundamentally that there is hardly a resemblance to the way standard historical-critics employ them. He makes this clear again in the

[99] Ladd, NT and Criticism, p. 40.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid., p. 14.
[102] Ibid., pp. 55-81.
[103] Ibid., pp. 83-108.
[104] Ibid., pp. 109-140.
[105] Ibid., pp. 141-69.
[106] Ibid., pp. 171-94.
[107] Ibid., pp. 195-214.
[108] Krentz, pp. 76-77.
[109] Ibid., p. 77.
[110] C.F.H. Henry, God, Revelation and Authority (Waco, TX, 1979), 4:392.

conclusion of his book where he contrasts "evangelical criticism" which is his "historical-theological method" with "rationalistic criticism" which is practiced in the "historical-critical method."[111]

In 1952 Professor Erwin Reisner raised his voice of opposition to the historical-critical method in an article entitled "Hermeneutics and Historical Reason," published in a prestigious European scholarly journal of theology. Among other things, he responded to Professor Gerhard Ebeling and his defense of the historical-critical method. Reisner notes that the historical-critical method reconstructs history from the same data differently, based on its autonomous categories.[112] This means that there is a historical-critical reconstruction of the Exodus which is decisively different from that presented in the Bible. The historical-critical method deals only with a part of reality, leaving out the divine action in history, and therefore creates a new view of history based upon part of what is reported but presents it as a "closed totality."[113] This is conceded even by P. Stuhlmacher.[114]

Reisner notes that historical reason which does not give full room to divine causality is unable to deal with the Bible in which history includes divine causality.[115] The new view of history is alien to that of the Bible. The new view of history is a reality created by modern scholarship but not one that existed in the past.

Professor Peter Beyerhaus of the University of Heidelberg addresses the problem of the historical-critical method in his book Shaken Foundations, published in 1972. He considers the anthropological epistemology of the historical-critical method to be fatal for supernatural concerns.[116] "The misery of modernist theology is that it has participated in the original sin of the Enlightenment, the idolization of man's reason."[117] Accordingly, Beyerhaus reacts strongly to the three foundational principles of the historical-critical method, namely, the principles of correlation, analogy, and criticism.[118] He says that these principles are not demanded by a truly scientific epistemology but are built upon the modernistic "pseudo-scientific world-view."[119] Beyerhaus affirms that the Holy Spirit is "the originator of the biblical texts" and that the Bible contains "the essential literary embodiment of God's self-revelation in history."[120] Beyerhaus

[111] Ladd, NT and Criticism, p. 216.
[112] E. Reisner, "Hermeneutik und die historische Vernunft," ZTK 49 (1952); 225.
[113] Ibid., p. 224.
[114] Stuhlmacher, Schriftauslegung, p. 52.
[115] Reisner, pp. 230-36.
[116] P. Beyerhaus, Shaken Foundations: Theological Foundations for Mission (Grand Rapids, 1972), pp. 8-18.
[117] Ibid., p. 17.
[118] Ibid., pp. 8-9.
[119] Ibid., p. 9.
[120] Ibid., pp. 15-16.

rejects the historical-critical method, proposing in its place a method built upon the reality of divine revelation found in Scripture which is the normative witness that speaks directly to man at all times. To imprison Scripture within the past as documents of the past without direct relevance today is alien to the very nature of the Word of God.

One of the most widely recognized British evangelical voices who has spoken against the appropriateness of the historical-critical method is James I. Packer.[121] He argues that the intention of the biblical writers demands the grammatical-historical method and not the historical-critical method.[122] Likewise the NT scholar R. T. France of Britain affirms the "grammatical-historical exegesis" which demands "that we discover all we can of the background to the expressions and concepts used by the New Testament writers, but forbids us to interpret them as merely echoing the ideas of their non-Christian contemporaries."[123] Over against the historical-critical position, France argues for a "historicist approach to the question of authenticity"[124] of the sayings of Jesus. "Historicist" means "those who start from the presumption that the Gospel writers intended to preserve the actual facts and the authentic teaching of Jesus, and that the Gospels may therefore be taken as a reliable guide to what Jesus said and did except where there is clear evidence to the contrary."[125] In this regard France is very close to the approach of G. E. Ladd.[126]

Many voices have been raised in America by evangelicals against the historical-critical method. It would go too far to enumerate them.[127] A recent outspoken critic has been the Lutheran Robert Preus, in an essay that discusses the contemporary debate over "the legitimate use of certain *aspects* of the so-called Historical-Critical method" which does not involve other aspects of "historical and grammatical study and analysis" common to all biblical scholarship. Here we enter the arena of the discussion as to whether a scholar may replace the nineteenth-century positivist and historicist presuppositions with those of Lutheranism and thus appropriately use the historical-critical method based upon new presuppositions that are in harmony with the scholar's particular faith or confessional stance.

Preus criticizes the historical-critical method, arguing that by treating

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[121]Note also his *"Fundamentalism" and the Word of God* (London, 1958).

[122]James I. Packer, "Hermeneutics and Biblical Authority," *Themelios* 3 (1975): 6-9.

[123]R. T. France, "Inerrancy and New Testament Exegesis," *Themelios* 3 (1975): 14.

[124]R. T. France, "The Authenticity of the Sayings of Jesus," *History, Criticism and Faith*, ed. Colin Brown (Leicester, 1976), p. 126.

[125]Ibid., p. 114, n.

[126]Ibid., p. 132, where France supports a redefined use of form criticism and redaction criticism, cleansed of several "assumptions and methods."

[127]R. Preus, "May the Lutheran Church Legitimately Use the Historical-Critical Method?" *Affirm* (Spring, 1973): 31-35.

the biblical writings as historically conditioned, it calls into question the Bible's inspiration and trustworthiness.[128] Preus concludes that "the Historical-Critical Method is the great error of our day in Biblical exegesis and theology."[129]

Likewise, in 1974 K. Marquart questioned whether a Lutheran could use the historical-critical method with Lutheran presuppositions.[130] He reiterated his position more recently by noting that "historical criticism understands itself simply as a general scientific method applied to past events, namely history. This means that the critic and his reason are judge and jury, while the Bible, like other ancient documents is on trial. . . . This situation, of course, represents a complete reversal of the classic roles of reason and Scripture in Lutheran theology. Under the new, critical regime, reason is master and Scripture is servant, whereas formerly it was the other way around."[131] For this basic difference he claims "'using the historical-critical method with Lutheran presuppositions' is as futile and absurd an undertaking as eating ham with Jewish presuppositions!"[132]

This is a unique way of stating the case, but one that cannot be easily dismissed. Scholars have argued repeatedly that one cannot simply replace the presuppositions, preunderstandings, and assumptions of a given method and put one's own in their place and claim that one employs the same method. Each method is inextricably bound to its presuppositions and preunderstandings.[133] They belong together as a root to the tree. Neither can be separated from the other and survive.

Let us outline the implications for form criticism of the acceptance of Scripture as the divine-human Word of God and therefore also of the acceptance at face value of the truth claims of Scripture regarding the origin of the Ten Commandments. The book of Exodus attributes the origin of the Ten Commandments to God's direct self-revelation on Mt. Sinai. They were spoken by His voice (Exod 20:1) and written by His own finger on tables of stone (Deut 51:22). In his testamental address (Deut 5:1, 4-5) shortly before his death, Moses repeated the Ten Commandments, giving an

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[128]Ibid., p. 32.

[129]Ibid., p. 35.

[130]K. Marquart, "The Historical-Critical Method and Lutheran Presuppositions," LTJ 8 (1974): 106-124.

[131]Kurt E. Marquart, *Anatomy of an Explosion. Missouri in Lutheran Perspective* (Fort Wayne, 1977), p. 114.

[132]Ibid.

[133]E. Käsemann, "Vom Recht historisch-kritischer Exegese," ZTK 64 (1967): 274: "The God of metaphysics who can be placed as a primary cause or a providence . . . objectively in a net of facts as really dead." R. Morgan, *The Nature of New Testament Theology* (London, 1973), p. 61, points to the postulate that "the realm of the historical is restricted to human existence." Ladd, *NT and Criticism*, p. 183, notes also that the nature of history in the historical-critical method "excludes the reality of divine interventions."

amplification of them (Deut 5:6-21). The biblical context suggests that the Ten Commandments were given by God supernaturally and that the miraculous was at work in the act of writing them by the divine finger. No long period of time or complex growth is evident.

By contrast, modern form-critical study of the Ten Commandments disregards the biblical context and proposes instead lengthy and complex growth patterns.[134] Relying on the "principle of brevity," form critics claim that the longer laws, having evolved from short commandments, are the most recent.[135] It is suggested by means of the "principle of uniformity" that at first all commandments in a given unit were formulated either positively or negatively, but not mixed as in the biblical record.[136] Since eight commandments are formulated with "you shall not. . . ," many form critics suggest that originally all ten commandments were negative (H. Cazalles, H. Graf Reventlow, G. Fohrer, et al.); whereas others hold the view that they were positive at first (E. Nielsen, et al.).

The application of the "principle of simplicity" is used by form critics to suggest that at first all commandments were plain and simple, of an unmixed type. They then conclude that the longer and complex commandments reflect a long, complicated history. Accordingly, form critics have reconstructed "primitive decalogues" (K. Koch, et al.) or "Urdekalogues" (W. M. Clark, et al.),[137] which in their earliest stages were concerned only with defining man's relationship with God in three or four commandments. The commandments defining relationships with fellow men are considered a later stage of development. Thus, the "evolution" of "the Decalogue is seen as the expression of centuries of human striving to put in words once and for all how God's will rules his chosen people."[138] The *Sitze im Leben* or "settings in life" of the growth patterns behind the fixed form of the Decalogue are all explained on the basis of the sociocultural milieu of the second and first millenniums B.C.[139]

The contrasts between the contextual settings of the Ten Commandments in the Pentateuch (Exod 20; Deut 5) and these form-critical reconstructions could not be more striking: (1) The Pentateuchal context dates the written revelation of the Decalogue to the time of Moses; the form-critical approach dates its writing late, after centuries of development and changes. (2) The Pentateuchal context states that God Himself is the writer of the Ten Commandments; the form-critical approach claims that man produced it in a complex and lengthy process. (3) The Pentateuchal

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[134]J. J. Stamm and M. E. Andrew, *The Ten Commandments in Recent Research* (London, 1967), pp. 13-75.

[135]Ibid., pp. 18-20.

[136]Ibid., p. 20.

[137]W. M. Clark, "Law," *Old Testament Form Criticism* (San Antonio, 1974), p. 123.

[138]K. Koch, *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition: The Form-Critical Method* (New York, 1969), p. 51.

[139]Stamm and Andrew, pp. 33-35.

context does not allow for any evolution in the process of the origin of the Ten Commandments; the form-critical approach explains the origin and development of the Ten Commandments along evolutionary processes determined by sociocultural, that is, human, forces. (4) The Pentateuchal context is unanimous in regarding the commandments as a unit from the beginning, defining both the God-man relationship and the man-man relationship; the form-critical approach separates them in their evolution, suggesting that the former are earlier.

It is evident that form criticism as practiced today reconstructs its own sociocultural context and works with its own principles. The given setting of the Ten Commandments in the revelation of the OT is countered by form critics with "settings in life" reconstructed on the basis of principles developed in the study of folklore. These procedures raise many fundamental problems, not only of a methodological nature but also regarding the authority of the Ten Commandments.

If the Ten Commandments are considered to be little more than the product of human genius accumulated over a period of many centuries, they can hardly function any longer as the divinely revealed, absolute norm for the religious, ethical, and moral behavior of man at any given time. For the form critic the authority of the Ten Commandments rests on the best thoughts of mankind—in this case, the combined human genius of ancient Israel. The Pentateuch counters this position with its emphatic and explicit claim that the authority and demands of the Ten Commandments are rooted in God's own, direct, and binding revelation on Mt. Sinai (Exod 19-24).

We have selected the Ten Commandments as an illustration because they are one of the typical examples used by form critics to make their case. As Christian scholars who accept the biblical testimony of a God who enters history by words and acts, we find the presuppositions of the historical-critical method unacceptable, we cannot share the view that history is a closed network of natural causes and effects in which no transcendent Being can act as a cause or function directly or indirectly in the network of happenings. Therefore we must reject the form-critical method with its closed continuum of sociocultural norms at work in the method. We also must question the moderate use of the historical-critical method by conservatives, because it makes human reason the foundation and final court of appeal of truth and builds faith on the immanent sociocultural milieu of ancient times.

We accept the revealed ways in which God has functioned. Furthermore we recognize the work of the Holy Spirit. However, would it suffice to replace sociocultural norms of form criticism with the Holy Spirit as an agent in the supposed long development of the Ten Commandments? Granted that this would conceive of the Holy Spirit rather than human genius as the shaping and forming agent of the Ten Commandments through human agencies over a period of centuries. Such a concept would account for the Ten Commandments on the basis of a combination of divine (Holy Spirit) and human agencies. This moderate use of form criticism and other possibilities are still in contradiction with the biblical testimony according

to which the Ten Commandments have a divine origin without a long time period of activity.

In short, it appears inevitable that one recognize that the modern historical-critical method with its associated source-critical, form-critical, tradition-critical, and redaction-critical methods and procedures are bound inherently to their principles, presuppositions, and preunderstandings. A substitution of the priority of Scripture over reason, of the revealed nature of Scripture and of divine causality and divine working in history seems to render these methods inoperative.

That this is the case is acknowledged by numerous historical critics. It is simplistic to suggest that all the historical-critical method needs is a new set of presuppositions, for presuppositions are inherent and inextricable from the methods built upon them.

Abandonment of the Historical-Critical Method

Let us turn our attention to two major voices who were trained in the historical-critical method, used it, and have called it "bankrupt" or pronounced its "end." Professor Walter Wink, formerly of Union Theological Seminary in New York, opened his book, published in 1973, with the cryptic declaration, "Historical biblical criticism is bankrupt."[140] He declared the bankruptcy of the historical-critical method "solely because it is incapable of achieving what most of its practioners considered its purpose to be: so to interpret the Scriptures that the past becomes alive and illumines our present with new possibilities for personal and social transformation."[141]

His criticism includes the following points: (1) The historical-critical method "as practiced was incommensurate with the intention of the [biblical] texts,"[142] which speak of events that led NT writers to faith. "The historical-critical method" by contrast "has reduced the Bible to a dead letter."[143] (2) "The ideology of objectivism drew historical criticism into a false consciousness."[144] This ideological objectivism "pretends to be unbiased when in fact the methodology carries with it a heavy rationalistic weight which by inner necessity tends toward the reduction of irrational, subjective, or emotional data to insignificance or invisibility. It pretends to search for 'assured results,' 'objective knowledge,' when in fact the method presumes radical epistemological doubt, which by definition devours each new spawn of 'assured results' as a guppy swallows her children."[145] (3) "Biblical studies increasingly fell prey to a form of technologism which regards as legitimate only those questions which its methods can answer."[146] Technique leads to a self-perpetuating reductionist spiral in which existing techniques determine the development of new techniques, which themselves presuppose the previous ones and build upon their premises and presuppositions.[147] (4) "Biblical criticism became cut off from any community for whose life its results might be significant."[148] Wink means that "for many liberal Protestant scholars in America, the most urgent question has become that of finding a context in which their interpretation of the Bible might have significance—or, stated more fundamentally, a context which would give that interpretation significance."[149] (5) "Biblical criticism developed in a historical context which has now changed. In the present context it is, as now practiced, obsolete."[150] This means that the polemical or apologetic origins of the historical-critical method consisted of its usage against the existing orthodox positions. For example, Pentateuchal criticism with its four sources of J, E, D, P from which the five books of Moses were constructed according to the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis was useful "as a method for destroying the conservative view of biblical origins and inspiration, thereby destroying its entire ideology."[151]

The historical-critical method's attempt at destroying the conservative precritical spirit has been accomplished. Conservatives "interpreted Scripture in the context of a total theological construction of history"[152] which means a history in which God could act in a supernatural way by direct or indirect intervention as the Bible describes it. The historical-critical method has achieved its goal of breaking "down every total construction. . . ."[153]

This led to a loss of the conservative naivete of God acting in history. Now Wink, following Paul Ricoeur of the University of Chicago, calls for a move beyond the "second naivete"—the historical-critical period in which faith must perform an iconoclastic function with respect to historical criticism.[154] This postcritical "new paradigm for biblical study," according to Wink, moves along the lines of sociological and psychoanalytical approaches as "a new, more human way for biblical study."[155]

It is evident that Wink is not a conservative or evangelical. He belongs to those increasing numbers of scholars who feel that historical-critical scholarship has run its course and moved into a dead-end road, a cul-de-sac, that has no future. This view is supported by the German NT scholar

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[140]W. Wink, *The Bible in Human Transformation: Toward a New Paradigm for Biblical Study* (Philadelphia, 1973), p. 1.

[141]Ibid., p. 2.

[142]Ibid.

[143]Ibid., p. 4.

[144]Ibid., p. 5.

[145]Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[146]Ibid., p. 8.

[147]Ibid., pp. 8-10.

[148]Ibid., p. 10.

[149]Ibid., p. 11.

[150]Ibid.

[151]Ibid., p. 12.

[152]Ibid.

[153]Ibid.

[154]Ibid., p. 13.

[155]Ibid., p. 83.

Gerhard Maier whose book *The End of the Historical-Critical Method*, published in German in 1974 and in English in 1977, discusses in his first chapter the nature and objections to the historical-critical method.[156] In his second chapter entitled, "The Actual End of the Historical-critical Method,"[157] Maier points out that the basic axiom of the historical-critical method is to distinguish Scripture from the Word of God,[158] namely that its starting point is a separation of the Bible into the human element and the divine element. The historical-critical method looks upon the Bible as a human book in which the Word of God in the form of a central message can be recovered through the various historical-critical procedures. "The historical-critical method, in its actual application, has become an impenetrable screen which simply does not allow certain statements anymore, even though they may be proved a thousand times in the experience of the believer."[159]

Among the objections listed by G. Maier are the following:

1. "It is impossible to discover a canon within the canon."[160] The "canon within the canon" refers to a superior standard within the total writings of the Bible. Such a canon within the canon is a superior norm within the total biblical norm by means of which other parts of Scripture are judged inferior or outdated. Maier says that "all such attempts thus far undertaken have ended in failure."[161] Why would this be so? He answers that the primary reason "is the simple fact that the Bible itself gives no key with which to distinguish between the Word of God and Scripture [the Bible as a whole], and along with that, between Christ and Scripture."[162]

2. "The Bible does not permit itself to be separated into a divine Scripture and a human Scripture."[163] According to historical critics there is in the Bible divine truth and human truth or in other words timeless truth and time-limited truths, or a kernel and a shell, or that which is primary and secondary, and so on. Maier raises the question about the basis upon which decisions are made as to what is divine or human truth.

The story of God's creation of the world as described in Genesis 1-2 will provide us with a specific example. Is this account "divine truth" or "human truth" or a mixture of both? On the basis of modern scientific opinion it is but "human truth" which is superseded by "scientific truth." Accordingly Genesis 1-2 contains only the kernel of truth that God is Creator, but the "how," "when," and "what" of the beginning of the world is not "divine truth" of Scripture. The norm for truth about the beginning of

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[156]Gerhard Maier, *The End of the Historical-Critical Method* (St. Louis, 1977), pp. 11-25.
[157]Ibid., pp. 26-49.
[158]Ibid., pp. 16-17.
[159]Ibid., p. 11.
[160]Ibid., p. 16.
[161]Ibid.
[162]Ibid.
[163]Ibid., p. 17.

the world is scientific information as interpreted by the scientific method and its axioms. For Maier, the Bible does not provide a key for such distinctions of truth. Thus he concludes that "the historical-critical method divided the Bible forcibly into two Bibles, one human and one divine,"[164] an inadmissible separation on biblical grounds.

3. Biblical "revelation is more than subject matter"[165] as is assumed by the historical-critical method. Maier notes that throughout the OT "the provisions of the Law are introduced and endorsed with 'God said unto Moses,' or 'Thus says the Lord.' The basis of their validity is therefore not a quality that is positively provable, but a personal will. . . . Because the Lord is speaking, the listener is faced with a divine truth which is binding upon him and which man cannot re-evaluate. The historical-critical method, on the contrary, begins with subject-matter information about divine truth. . . . Accordingly the historical-critical method is of necessity concerned with differences in content and judgments about facts, whereas the Bible wants to be a witness of personal encounter and the declaration of the divine will."[166]

4. "The conclusion is established prior to the interpretation."[167] The historical-critical method begins with a number of givens, or axioms such as the modernistic worldview and other preunderstandings, thus raising the issue: "What should we think of a method which has to bring with it such a conclusive judgment and result before it begins to unlock the subject selected for consideration?"[168]

5. "Critique is not the appropriate answer to revelation."[169] Assuming that the Bible in its canonical form is "the witness of divine revelation. . . . Then, however, it is clear . . . that . . . in this case and for this subject a *critical* method must fail, because it presents an inner impossibility. For the correlative or counterpart to revelation is not critique but obedience, it is not correction . . . but it is a let-me-be-corrected."[170]

The objection that God does not call for a sacrifice of reason (*sacrificium intellectus*) overlooks (1) that no man can sacrifice or give of his own accord when his relationship to God is the subject of the debate and (2) human reason, like man himself, is also diseased.[171] In other words, human reason is also subject to sin and its noetic effects and is no neutral norm of judgment. Reason needs the light and witness of divine revelation.

In place of the historical-critical method G. Maier proposes an alternative method that he calls the "historical-biblical method." It is based upon the biblical view of inspiration, God's activity in history through word and

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[164]Ibid., p. 18.
[165]Ibid.
[166]Ibid., p. 19.
[167]Ibid., p. 20.
[168]Ibid., pp. 20-21.
[169]Ibid., p. 22.
[170]Ibid., p. 23 (italics his).
[171]Ibid.

deed, the biblical testimony about itself, the principle of the Bible as its own interpreter, etc.

Historians from other fields of study also have opposed the historical-critical method of biblical scholars. Among them are the American Gary B. Ferngren who wrote recently that the "presuppositions led them [historical-critics] to recreate New Testament history along far different lines from those presented by the Gospels."[172] Roland M. Freye, American literary historian and critic, objected to the twentieth century preconceptions of Gospel criticism based on the presuppositions of "modern man."[173] The German historian August Nitschke finds the historical-critical method wanting as practiced by NT scholars.[174]

Conclusions

Our conspectus of current opinion on the historical-critical method reveals that it is involved in a crisis of substantial proportions. Critical scholars themselves have called it "bankrupt," described it as stuck in a "dead-end road," and pronounced its "end." Many in-group scholars of leading stature agree that the presuppositions and preunderstandings of the method as practiced today are in need of change (for example, W. Pannenberg, J. Moltmann, P. Stuhlmacher, F. Hahn, E. Grasser, E. Krentz, and others).

One trend is to open up the method to transcendent, supernatural causation and thus to overcome historicism with its closed continuum of natural causes and effects. Those who follow this trend are quick to point out, however, that supernatural causes, even though they are granted philosophically, nevertheless are rarely allowed and that normally biblical texts continue to be interpreted by principles of natural causation (J. Bright, J. M. Miller, and others).

Another trend, of course, is to retain the historical-critical method just as it developed, by disallowing divine, supernatural intervention in history (R. Bultmann, G. Ebeling, R. W. Funk, A. Van Harvey, E. Carr, M. Bloch, and many others). What is common to the various attitudes indicated above is the priority of human reason over Scripture.

These historical-critical scholars are joined by other scholars who have come to recognize that an enlargement of the method with a fourth principle, such as that of consent and hearing (P. Stuhlmacher), is not enough.

The philosophical axioms, presuppositions and preunderstandings are inherent to the method in such a way as to shape the method. This is true to the extent that giving priority to Scripture over reason and accepting a priori divine causality and the miraculous would entail the development of a completely different method.

Accordingly some of these scholars have pronounced the "bankruptcy" (W. Wink) and the "end" (G. Maier) of the historical-critical method and proposed respectively alternate methods such as a sociological paradigm (W. Wink) or the "biblical-theological method" (G. Maier). These scholars are joined by others, particularly evangelicals, who also do not follow the historical-critical method, preferring nomenclature such as "historical-theological method" (G. E. Ladd), "exegetical theology" (W. Kaiser), "theological-historical method" (G. Hasel),[175] and "historical-grammatical method" (R. Preus, J. I. Packer). The informed scholar or layperson should bear in mind that "structuralism," a major new method for the study of the Bible has come into vogue since the 1970s.[176] It is practiced by some in disavowal of the historical-critical method.[177] In any case, it goes its own direction without any need for the historical-critical method.

We believe that the historical-critical method is not an adequate method of Bible study for a person who accepts the Bible as the Word of God. The weight of the objections and criticisms cited above cannot be brushed aside. In addition, the presuppositions which determine the proce-

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[172] G. B. Ferngren, "The New Testament and Historical Criticism," JASA 26 (June 1974): 42.

[173] R. M. Freye, "A Literary Perspective for the Criticism of the Gospels," Jesus and Man's Hope (Pittsburgh, 1971), 2:193-221; Id., "On the Historical-Critical Method in New Testament Study," Perspective 14 (1973): 28-33.

[174] A. Nitschke, "Historische Wissenschaft und Bibelkritik," EvT 27 (1967): 225-36.

[175] Basic outlines were provided in G. F. Hasel, Old Testament Theology: Basic Issues in the Current Debate, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, 1978), pp. 129-43; Id., New Testament Theology: Basic Issues in the Current Debate (Grand Rapids, 1978), pp. 204-220; Id., Understanding the Living Word of God (Mountain View, CA, 1980).

[176] See the appendix to this volume. Note also a few basic works: D. Patte, What Is Structural Exegesis? (Philadelphia, 1976); R. M. Polzin, Biblical Structuralism (Missoula, MT, 1977); R. Detweiler, Story, Sign and Self: Phenomenology and Structuralism as Literary-Critical Methods (Missoula, MT, 1978); R. Barthes, et al., Structural Analysis and Biblical Exegesis: Interpretational Essays (Pittsburgh, 1974); S. Wittig, ed., Structuralism: An Interdisciplinary Study (Pittsburgh, 1975); A. M. Johnson, Jr., ed. and tr., The New Testament and Structuralism (Pittsburgh, 1976). An attack on one of its founders is found in I. Robinson, The New Grammarians' Funeral: A Critique of Naom Chomsky's Linguistics (Cambridge, MA, 1975).

Introductory essays are A. C. Thiselton, "Keeping up With Recent Studies II. Structuralism and Biblical Studies: Method or Ideology?" ExpTim 89 (1977-1978): 329-35; V. Poythress, "Structuralism and Biblical Studies," JETS 21 (1978): 221-37; Id., "Philosophical Roots of Phenomenological and Structuralist Literary Criticism," WTJ 41 (1978-1979): 165-71; C. Amerding, "Structural Analysis," Themelios 4 (1979): 96-104.

[177] B. W. Kovacs, "Philosophical Foundations for Structuralism," Semeia 10 (1978): 85-105.

dures of the historical-critical method are at their root built upon and grounded in norms and axioms that are not biblical, even antibiblical. The keys to unlock the meaning of the divine revelation of the Bible rest in that very divine revelation rather than in axioms, norms, preunderstandings, or presuppositions outside the biblical revelation and alien to the Word of God. Thus the study of Scripture must follow a method that derives its philosophical conceptuality, its norms and procedures from Scripture itself. Furthermore, this method must always be subject to the judgment of Scripture. The Bible must remain the master and the method the servant. The following pages attempt to present a broad outline of the basics of such an approach which for the time being we will call the "theological-historical method" to separate it consciously and deliberately from the historical-critical method.

A BIBLICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF SCRIPTURE

In this section we attempt to outline essentials of Bible study rooted in Scripture itself. Such an approach is in harmony with our great Protestant heritage to which the major Reformers of the sixteenth century contributed. This method keeps its foundation in the Bible as Scripture and the inspired Word of God while at the same time addressing the issues of the modern mind.

A comprehensive presentation of sound, informed principles of biblical interpretation cannot be provided in the space alloted. For this reason we will attempt to provide basic and foundational concepts under two major headings: (1) foundations of biblical interpretation and (2) principles and procedures for interpreting the Bible. For a more comprehensive treatment of this subject, the reader is referred to my volume entitled *Understanding the Living Word of God.*[1]

Foundations of Biblical Interpretation

This section deals with the foundations upon which the principles and processes of biblical interpretation are built. These foundations derive from Scripture itself.

The Bible as the Inspired Word of God

Every appropriate interpretation of the Bible must be grounded upon the principle that all Scripture is given by the inspiration of God through the Holy Spirit. Since all of Scripture is inspired by the Holy Spirit, every scripture from Genesis to Revelation is the Word of God without a qualitative difference in terms of inspiration. This acceptance of the Bible as Scripture and the Word of God precludes degrees or levels of inspiration and further rules out the concept that only the portions of Scripture pertaining to faith and redemption were inspired. It also precludes the idea that the non-canonical writings of the Jewish or Christian or of any other tradition can be regarded as carrying either the same "inspired" function as the Bible or as an addition to the Bible.

God as Author of the Bible; Inspired Men as Its Writers

The uniqueness of the Bible is given through its divine, inspired origin. This origin is attested in the affirmations that "no prophecy ever came by the impulse of man, but men moved by the Holy Spirit spoke from God" (2 Pet 1:21) and "all scripture is inspired by God" (2 Tim 3:16). Scripture issues from God who therefore is the Author of the Bible, even though it is

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[1](Mountain View, CA, 1980).

written in human language through human agents. It follows that the Bible is not the product of human genius or tradition. It is not to be handled or studied as if it were a mere human book. Finally, it is not to be interpreted on the level of the human language alone.

The Bible presents a "union of the divine and the human."[2] Inspired human writers communicated divine truth objectively, authoritatively, and trustworthily in human language. Any interpretative approaches to the Bible that attempt to investigate and interpret it on the human level only are unfaithful to the indivisible union of the divine and the human.

Indivisible Union of the Divine and the Human in Scripture

The Bible "presents a union of the divine and the human," to use the words of E. G. White,[3] this was manifested also in Jesus Christ, who combined divinity and humanity in Himself. As the union of the divine and the human in the person of Jesus Christ is inseparable and indivisible, so the Bible is inseparably and indivisibly the union of the divine and the human, making it the Word of God in the language of human beings. Interpretative approaches, methods, and techniques that attempt to deal with the Bible either on the human level alone or in separation from the divine aspect are unfaithful to the inseparable and indivisible union of the divine and the human. Any method of interpretation of Scripture must be in harmony with the indivisible union of the divine and human in the Bible, the Word of God.

Authority of the Bible as the Authority of God

The authority of God, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit is the source of the authority of the Bible. Therefore the authority of the Bible is normative for faith and life, doctrine and proclamation, and thought and investigation. Biblical authority is not founded upon the church. It is not grounded in any human philosophy, discipline, agency, or endeavor. Therefore, the acceptance, meaning, and interpretation of the Bible is not dependent on decrees or councils of human beings neither on their single nor combined scientific interpretative opinion. Divine authority is inherent in the Bible, as Scripture, which gives creative direction to life and all branches of human thought.

Unity of the Old and New Testaments

The unity of the two Testaments of the Bible is a reality of Scripture rooted in the inspiration of the Bible. The entire Bible is the Word of God. There is a unity both within each Testament and between the Old and New Testaments. While there are a variety of languages, styles, literary

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[2]White, *The Great Controversy*, p. vi; Id., *Testimonies for the Church* 5:747.

[3]White, *The Great Controversy*, p. vi.

forms, and emphases among and between individual inspired writers, and while they present various accounts of the same event or topic and variety even on the same subjects unfolded through them, there is nevertheless an overarching inner unity without artificial uniformity. The unity within variety points to harmony of truth and denies, for example, that the OT is law and the NT is gospel; or that there are conflicting or contradictory teachings either within biblical books or between them; or that later inspired writers misused, misapplied, or misinterpreted earlier scriptures when quoting or alluding to them; or that inspired writers reinterpreted earlier Scriptures in contradiction with its earlier intentions.

The Canon of the Bible of Both Testaments

The Bible consists of 66 canonical books that make up the Old and New Testaments. The NT uses the expression "the writings" (Matt 26:54 = Mark 14:49; Luke 24:27; John 5:39, et al.), or "the writing" (John 2:22; 10:35; 20:9; 1 Pet 2:6; 2 Pet 1:20) for the entire OT canon. Such declarations of Jesus' as "it is written" (Matt 4:4, 6, 10; 11:10; 21:13; 26:31; etc.) and "scripture cannot be broken" (John 10:35) indicates that He exemplified and supported faithful submission to the OT as an inspired canon. The NT books did not become canonical by virtue of authorization of the church or their inclusion in canonical lists; rather, these 27 books of the NT were included in the canon because they were divinely inspired, had apostolic authority, and were so recognized under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

The canon of the Bible, therefore, is not the product of the church but of the Holy Spirit. Likewise, the canon of the Bible is not dependent upon its being a repeated self-authenticating "witness" to revelation; rather, authoritative divine revelation is inherently embodied within it. The canonical form of the Bible is the Word of God rather than alleged precanonical sources, forms, traditions, or postcanonical interpretations. The meaning of the Bible is found in its canonical form and not in various reconstructed stages of an alleged precanonical or postcanonical literary history.

Since the Bible makes no distinction regarding canonical levels and all biblical books are of equally divine origin, written through inspired human instruments, there are no higher or lower forms of canonical Scripture. Biblical books or writings, whether of greater or lesser antiquity, are neither more nor less authoritative, genuine, nor authentic than the others. There is no qualitative distinction in levels of authority in the canon of the Bible of both Testaments.

The Bible as Its Own Interpreter

The famous and time-honored Reformation principle, repeated in modern times, namely that "Scripture is its own interpreter"[4] or "the Bible

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[4]White, *The Great Controversy*, p. 521.

is its own expositor,"[5] derives fully from Scripture (for example, Luke 24:27; 1 Cor 2:13; 2 Pet 1:20). It means that "Scripture interprets Scripture,"[6] that one portion of Scripture interprets another, becoming the key to other, less clear passages. This procedure involves the collection and study from all parts of the Bible of passages dealing with the same subject so that each may aid in the interpretation of the other.

This process of self-interpretation of the Bible is grounded in the unity of the Bible. If properly executed, the procedure of allowing Scripture to interpret Scripture does not permit an indiscriminate stringing together of passages, but relates those passages which deal with the same subject to each other, so as to view their significance and contribution to the subject. The self-interpretation of the Bible does not deny or do away with varieties of viewpoint or different emphases on various topics and events, but it relates them to each other within the framework of the unity of inspired, canonical Scripture.

The self-interpretation of the Bible is a safeguard against superimposing one's own views on Scripture. It also denies that one Scripture passage contradicts, misinterprets, or misapplies another. The Bible's own interpretation elucidates and unfolds other passages without reinterpreting them in such a way that an alien meaning is put on the original intent.

Normative Truths of the Bible

The Bible is the authoritative revelation of divine truths. The authority of the truths embodied in the Bible is not restricted to matters of salvation alone; any truth that the Bible reveals is objective, authoritative, and absolute. This implies that data from the world of nature properly interpreted will not be inconsistent with biblical truths derived from Scripture alone. It also implies that Genesis 1-11 is an inspired, factual record of events about the beginning of earth's history, not merely theology, poetry, or myth. Scientific hypotheses about earth origins and the origin and history of humankind must not be viewed from within and on the basis of biblical data on these matters. Such hypotheses may not be allowed to alter the biblical truths so as to bring them into harmony with the conclusions of scientific hypotheses or opinions.

Extrabiblical data from various fields of investigation including archaeology, geology, and anthropology, if rightly interpreted, may have great value for elucidating what the Bible teaches. Such data also may bring about clarification where interpretation is unclear due to limited biblical information. Extrabiblical data and the various theories or hypotheses human thought builds upon is inappropriately employed to overturn or upset the truth of the Bible in any area it speaks on. This includes Creation origins, the fact that Adam and Eve were the first created beings, their literal fall into sin, the Flood, and all other realities pertaining to faith and

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[5]White, *Education*, p. 190.
[6]E. G. White, *Evangelism*, p. 581.

life, as well as to history and nature. "Since the book of nature and the book of revelation bear the impress of the same master mind, they cannot but speak in harmony."[7]

Human Preunderstanding Determined by the Bible

No interpreter can divest himself so thoroughly from his past that he can approach the Bible in absolute neutrality. It is a truism that total or absolute objectivity cannot be attained. The so-called "empty head" principle whereby the investigator divests himself of all preconceived notions and opinions while approaching the subject to be studied in complete neutrality, is simply illusory. Although the mandate to be as objective as possible remains basic for all genuine scholarly endeavor, inevitably there will be a preunderstanding toward which the interpreter will slant his investigation. While we are led to acknowledge this, we must affirm that the interpreter's preunderstanding must be derived from and remain under the control of the Bible itself. Presuppositions must be open constantly for modification and enlargement on the basis of Scripture. Any preunderstanding that is bound to concepts such as naturalism with its closed universe of an immanent cause-and-effect network, to evolution with its developmental axioms, or to scientism, humanism, rationalism, or relativisms is alien to the Bible. The Word of God must not be forced to fit such foreign concepts or their presuppositions.

Abiding Illumination of the Holy Spirit

The Holy Spirit through whom Scripture was inspired is needed as an abiding Illuminator for the interpreter. The Holy Spirit creates in the interpreter through Scripture an adequate preunderstanding and the essential perspective for the interpretation of the Bible, the Word of God. The Bible's absolute uniqueness as the Word of God is the vehicle through which the Holy Spirit acts today in order to bring about faith in its teachings and message. The Holy Spirit never will teach anything contrary to the teachings and message of the Bible which itself is inspired by the Holy Spirit.

Human beings are unable to recognize and appropriate the teachings and truths of the Bible apart from the work of the Holy Spirit in their lives. The Holy Spirit works in and through the Bible, creating faith, transforming lives, bringing knowledge to all spheres of thought and experience, impelling recognition of the formal and objective authority of the Word of God, and guiding into the fullness of all spiritual truths. The abiding illumination of the Holy Spirit is essential for genuine interpretation of Scripture.

The summary statements given above are not meant to be exhaustive but representative in their range or exposition. They serve as foundations that broadly outline key essentials. We may now advance to summarize basic principles and procedures.

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[7]White, *Education*, p. 128.

Principles and Procedures of Biblical Interpretation

The principles and procedures of biblical interpretation that we outline below seek (1) to determine the meaning of the inspired writers for their time and place, (2) to expound the full import intended, directly or indirectly, of the words and messages of the inspired writers, even beyond what the inspired writer may have understood himself (1 Pet 1:10-11; cf. Dan 8:26-27; Zech 4:13), and (3) to communicate these appropriately to modern man in the various cultural settings in which he finds himself.

Original Text and Textual Studies

The original documents of the Bible have not been preserved, but more than 5,500 manuscripts of the NT or fragments are available (unequaled for any ancient document) and numerous manuscripts or fragments are available for the OT. Although unusual care is evident in the copying process, there is evidence of scribal errors, mostly unintentional, although some intentional. Textual studies (normally also called "lower criticism" or recently more frequently designated "textual criticism") are mandatory for the recovery of the original text. While there is no "strictly prescribed method of Old Testament textual criticism" (B. Waltke), there is great confidence in the Masoretic Text dated in the oldest complete leather scroll of A.D. 1008. The reconstruction of the text is always hypothetical, even when done with utmost care. Early translations have been found beneficial, but even the various recensions of the Greek OT (LXX) reveals that it needs to be evaluated book by book, avoiding generalized conclusions.

In the area of the NT textual studies the scholar also will apply general principles built on external and internal criteria. Since there are still no universally agreed methods, caution remains important. Textual studies must be carried out within the context of the unity of the Bible.

It may be said that by and large the textual variants do not influence any biblical doctrine in any material way. Most textual variants do not even show up in translation.

Translation of the Bible Into Modern Languages

Among the appropriate translation techniques are the formal word-for-word as well as dynamic meaning-for-meaning renderings. We must be careful that in the process of translation the demands of cross-cultural communication do not distort or falsify the biblical meaning in the biblical text.

Even in translation the Bible remains the Word of God and communicates knowledge about reality, faith, and salvation beyond any temporal or cultural boundaries. The meaning of the Bible is not so tied to ancient cultural contexts that its meaning is not understood in other cultural contexts. The Bible in the text of the original languages and in proper translation is of value for all people regardless of time and space.

Determination of Authorship, Date, Place, and Unity of Biblical Books

The various books of the Bible were written by inspired men over a period of about 1500 years. Many biblical books or parts thereof—for example, Psalms and Proverbs—provide explicit information on authorship in superscriptions, opening verses, or other types of information. These direct internal biblical criteria are normative for authorship, date, place, and unity of writing.

It is inadmissible to declare as non-authentic those biblical writings or parts thereof that directly declare their origin from a given writer. The denial of the authorship of Pauline, Petrine, or Johannine literature is unacceptable because of explicit internal claims.

Where there is anonymity or lack of information within a given biblical document or a group of writings, the remainder of Scripture shall have priority in the identification of authorship, date, place, and unity of the respective writing or group of writings over ancient or modern traditions or scholarly opinions.

Whereas the determination of authorship, date, place, and unity of each writing in the Bible is valuable for many reasons, it must not obscure the fact that God is the Author of the Bible. The human prophet coupled with his experience and background was only the inspired agent to convey the revealed, objective truth in a trustworthy and accurate manner so that "the utterances of the man are the word of God."[8]

Biblical Text and the Matter of Context

The significance of context is of great importance for interpretation.

1. **Word context.** The context of the word in the sentence may be called the lexical context. There is a reciprocal meaning between each word in a sentence in its syntactical relationship. The word's meaning can be found with the aid of lexicons and the syntactical relationship can be made clearer with the aid of grammars. Each sentence is the nearest context for words. Words find their meaning in the sentence in relationship to each other and in the unit or paragraph to which the sentence belongs.

The interrelationship of word to sentence, and so forth, does not allow for a "root meaning" of a word to intrude itself, unless the context itself supports such a "root meaning." Each word may be compared with identical or related words in the same language within the Bible (Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek) or outside the Bible and in cognate languages. These linguistic and etymological studies are highly instructive and have provided numerous new insights. While there is no substitute for this, there is the danger of reading the biblical terminology through the glasses of extra-biblical usage or through cognate languages. This is to be avoided. The context of the word in the biblical sentence and the larger context within the book and the Bible as a whole must remain normative.

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[8]E. G. White, *Selected Messages*, bk. 1, p. 21.

2. Thought context. Study must also be given to ideas, concepts, motifs, and thoughts they express. The context for a particular thought is the book or document in which it is found, and beyond the larger context of Scripture as a whole. The study of the context of a particular thought may include not only the Bible as a whole, but also cultures of the surrounding ancient world within which the Bible was given. One often will discover points of contact, differences, adaptations, opposition, or uniqueness. The idea of "covenant," for example, could evoke varying echoes in the mind of ancient persons, depending on the culture and setting of the person.

There was a time when some scholars explained almost everything in the OT on the basis of Babylonian culture. Other scholars have seen the OT through the eyes of Egyptian, Ugaritic, and Hellenistic cultures. Although many cultures have various points of contact within the Bible, it is by no means true that biblical truth and faith is merely a reflection, shadow, or reinterpretation of its surroundings. The Bible is God's unique self-revelation which transcends all human thought. The biblical context is determinative for the "thought" context of what Bible writers wrote.

3. Literary context. Bible writers employed a great variety of literary conventions such as prose and poetry with its idioms, similes, metaphors, personifications, chiasms, and the like. The literary context also may be related to such larger literary segments as a poem, a dirge, or lamentation, a letter, a saying, or a gospel. A wide variety of literary forms is evident in Scripture and they were used by the inspired writers under the guidance of the Holy Spirit to communicate verbally the divine truths. A study of these literary conventions, if properly carried out, is a valuable tool of exegesis. The usage of appropriate literary forms does not negate the factualness of what is narrated or the historicity of the event recorded. Hence the communication of facts, events, and truths narrated by means of poems, for instance, does not mean that their factualness or truthfulness is less than it would be if narrated in prose.

Accepting the validity of studying the variety of literary forms and therefore their literary contexts does not affirm using the method of form criticism as correctly employed, either in the study of the OT or the NT. The development and current usage of form criticism as outlined above reconstructs the sociocultural contexts of biblical materials and interprets the biblical materials on the basis of this reconstruction. The reconstructed life setting of the text is seen as determinative for any considera-tion of the nature of the text. In OT and NT form criticism such proce-dural assumptions as (1) the priority of poetry over prose, (2) the assertion that the older the material will be shorter, (3) the evolutionary tendency manifest in the claim that things developed from simple to advanced forms, and (4) the demand for consistency within a literary unit, force the biblical text onto a procrustean bed or into an alien mold. Sound methodology in the study of literary form will refuse to employ such methodological assumptions and the conclusions resulting from them. The study of the forms used by biblical authors and form criticism are unrelated matters.

4. Biblical context. We have affirmed that the Bible is unique in that it manifests the union of the divine and the human. The Bible as the

Word of God cannot be interpreted like any other book, ancient or modern. The most appropriate context for understanding and interpreting any part of Scripture is Scripture as a whole. Therefore the OT is the key for the NT as the NT unlocks the mysteries of the OT. This reciprocal relation between the two Testaments is grounded in the unity which stems from divine inspiration.

Accepting the fact of this reciprocal relation automatically rules out certain positions popular today. Those who view Scripture as the result of the literary production of a community or communities deny the NT any role in the interpretation of the OT, for to use the NT as a key to inter-preting the OT would be to impose an alien cultural life setting upon the OT.

At the other extreme are those who view progressive revelation as introducing information that may contradict or do away with the older revelation. The acceptance of this view implies that the NT may be used to interpret the OT, but that the OT cannot be used to interpret the NT, for the OT now is outdated since the NT has come. An even more radical position attempts to find the key to the interpretation both of the OT and the NT within a selected group of NT passages. This view attempts to find a "canon within the canon" as the key to interpret and a judge to evaluate the rest of Scripture.

Interpreters who accept the unity of Scripture allow the Old and New Testaments to shed light upon each other.[9] The OT is the gospel embodied and the NT the gospel unfolded.[10] "One is as essential as the other."[11] Such a view cannot be harmonized with concepts of progressive revelation that attribute to later revelation superior value and authority over the rest of Scripture. God's biblical revelation is progressive in the sense that there is a constant unfolding of truth in harmony with rather, than in contradic-tion to, earlier inspired writings.

Biblical Text in Words, Sentences, and Units

There is a reciprocal relationship between words, their grammatical forms and relationships in a sentence (syntax). The relationships between words and sentences are of fundamental importance for the interpreter. In the Hebrew language (and in Aramaic) the relationships are different from those of the Greek language and both differ from modern languages. An adequate study of the words and sentences calls for a thorough study of the biblical languages. Ancient Near Eastern languages (both Northwest and East Semitic ones) have contributed greatly to and will continue to contrib-ute to a better understanding of OT words. Biblical words, however, express the "new content" of divine revelation and thus cannot be expected to communicate mere patterns of thought of the ancient world. The bibli-

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[9]E. G. White, *Christ's Object Lessons*, p. 128.
[10]Ibid.
[11]White, *Selected Messages*, bk. 2, p. 104.

cal context and biblical truth remain normative for the usage of words in their sentences and units.

A unit contains a series of sentences and deals with a given thought or an aspect of a larger thought. The understanding of a unit has a spiraling effect consisting of an understanding of the sentences of which the unit is made as well as an understanding of the larger wholes to which it belongs.

The classification of units is best achieved through internal criteria. The biblical text in the canonical form is normative. The literary conventions used by biblical writers in the context of Scripture forms the basis for classifying literary units into historical prose, narrative, dream, vision, proverb, letter, gospel, parable, hymn, law, prayer, sermon, and so on.

The interpretation of units involves a study and appreciation of (1) the biblical and extrabiblical historical, cultural, and religious background, (2) the setting and date of the unit within the biblical book, if ascertainable, (3) the literary form and context, (4) the words and sentences, and (5) the theological motifs and message. Each of these aspects of interpretation takes place within the context of Scripture as a whole.

Biblical Books and Their Messages

Biblical books are made up of units consisting of smaller components of sentences and words. The understanding of whole books of the Bible as they are organized in their constituent parts by their biblical authors is dependent upon the interpretation of its constituent units in the sequence provided by their authors. The cumulative meaning of all its parts makes up the total message of the book of Isaiah, for example. The gospel of Matthew likewise must be studied as a whole for its total message.

The meaning and messages of biblical books is not determined by reconstructing an alleged oral or written pre-history or by studying an assumed process of development lying back of the canonical texts. Rather, the normative message of a book must be determined from the biblical text as it comes to us in the canon. In addition, the understanding of the message of Scripture takes place within the context of the Bible as a whole.

Theology of the Bible in Its Entirety

The final aim of all biblical interpretation is not only to enter into the meaning of its words, sentences, units, and books. The ultimate aim is to discover the total truths and the message of all of Scripture. The intent is not only to understand what the individual inspired writers understood themselves (1 Pet 1:12), but also the *divine intention* of the full import of the words. Peter indicates that the prophets of old "longed to understand their [message's] full import."[12] "The prophets . . . did not fully comprehend the import of the revelation committed to them."[13] The "full import"

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[12]E. G. White, *Prophets and Kings*, p. 731.
[13]White, *The Great Controversy*, p. 344.

of biblical revelation comes by means of later revelation which unfolds the earlier words of the prophets.

Inspiration is a sure guide to the full import of any part of Scripture. For example, the meaning indicated in an earlier prophetic word often is stated later to be fulfilled in a particular way, for example Isaiah 7:14 in Matthew 1:22-23, Psalm 2:7 in Hebrews 1:5 (cf. Acts 13:33; Rom 8:29) and Hosea 11:1 in Matthew 2:15. There is continuity and homogeneity between the Messianic prediction of Isaiah 7:14 and its fulfillment. Although the term "virgin" is more narrow than the range of meaning of the Hebrew word *almah*, the translation "virgin," lies within that range of meaning and therefore is not misapplied, misinterpreted, or misconstrued. Hosea 11:1, "out of Egypt I called my son," was applied by Hosea to the nation corporately, whereas in Matthew 2:15 the typological fulfillment is enunciated in which the whole nation is personalized in the person Jesus Christ. No new meaning is read into the earlier prophecy, but through inspiration the "full import" or larger significance is unfolded without either misapplication, reinterpretation, or superimposing alien meaning upon the original meaning. The genuine, normative "full import" of Scripture as intended by God is unveiled safely by divine inspiration through a later revelation. This procedure safeguards Scripture from subjective and private interpretation and secures the self-interpretation of Scripture based on the principle of the analogy of faith.

The theology of the Bible is made up of the message(s) or theme(s) found in each biblical book or group of writings that stem from the same biblical writer.[14] In this way each book or group of writings makes its own special contribution and thus reveals richness, variety, and diversity. Every thought of Scripture is allowed to emerge and to be heard. In principle these book-by-book and group-by-group theologies provide opportunity to recognize the variety as well as the unity of the divine self-disclosure, revealing the ever-unfolding will of God and the enlargement of various themes and topics.

Once the various topics and themes of Scripture have emerged in their individual settings within the respective books or groups of writings, each theme or topic should then be studied in its entirety in Scripture in chronological order so that the various facets in their fullness, variety, and unity can be seen. Ultimately the Bible has but one gospel and one message. Different inspired writers will vary in their emphasis according to their respective circumstances and purposes, but this only contributes to the unity of scriptural truth in its full richness. There is only "one Lord, one faith, . . ." (Eph 4:5).

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[14]For a more detailed presentation, see my essay, "Biblical Theology: Then, Now, and Tomorrow," HBT 4/1 (June 1982): 61-93.

Speaking to the Modern Context

The final goal of the interpreter is to convey the message of Scripture in such a way so that it is heard by each person today in his/her cultural context. Basic to the question of the contemporary context is the recognition that the original meaning of the text of Scripture determines its significance for us today. The original meaning of the text therefore is not to be allegorized or reinterpreted on the assumption that the situation of the modern reader or hearer is so different from the situation of the inspired writers and their audiences of the past that there is not enough continuity and homogeneity to warrant a direct application of the Bible's teaching for faith and life today.

The Bible is more than a source of Christian insight or a mere textbook of models of theology and behavior in an ancient sociocultural setting. It cannot be reduced to general guidelines that require radical reinterpretation and translation to meet the needs of those living in our supposedly totally different sociocultural setting. The elements of continuity between the world of the Bible and our world are much more significant than any changes. The Bible's picture of humankind and its dilemma is not different from that of human beings in the modern world. The biblical diagnosis of the problems and its solutions remain true and vitally relevant today. Humanity still attempts to live his life apart from God and sits in judgment upon God's Word. The procedures of the historical-critical method are a reflection of mankind's desired autonomy. By contrast, the acceptance of the Bible as God's Word allows the possibility that we may live the totality of our lives—spiritually, intellectually, socially, and physically—in harmony with God's Word. This brings about peace, joy, and happiness.

To conclude, it should be pointed out that the historical-critical method, over 200 years in existence with its procedures of source criticism, form criticism, tradition criticism, and redaction criticism, has been highly controversial. Even as new methods are developed and supposedly "assured results" are shown once again to be hotly debated issues, the student and scholar who holds to the full inspiration of Scripture and its inseparable divine-human nature will wish to remain informed about the various methods and procedures in the study of the Bible, always testing anew his own presuppositions and methods of interpretation by the internal witness of Scripture as the inspired Word of God.

It is not necessary to rehearse the issues raised and the strictures brought forth in very recent times with regard to the historical-critical method. It has become evident that its procedures for studying and interpreting Scripture are in the grip of modern philosophically-based preunderstandings and presuppositions as well as procedures that are alien to the explicit claims of the Bible itself. It is equally evident that aside from the historical-critical method another model is needed for the study and interpretation of the Bible. The reasons have been shown repeatedly, but from another angle can be seen in the following way: "Higher criticism [that is, the historical-critical method] never attains the real theological object of Biblical studies, insofar as it does not see in the texts the words of God, but only the words of men."[1] Another writer noted that "the work of higher criticism, in disecting, conjecturing, reconstructing, is destroying faith in the Bible as a divine revelation. It is robbing God's word of power to control, uplift, and inspire human lives."[2] In view of these problems the model that is needed is one that interprets the various biblical books and their parts within the canonical context of the whole Bible and is fully sensitive to the self-claims of Scripture. This model or method takes as its point of departure and foundation the reality of the Bible as the supernaturally inspired Word of God (2 Tim 3:16; 2 Pet 1:21) written in human language by inspired writers.

Universally the Bible manifests the "union of the divine and the human."[3] The Holy Spirit imbued human instruments with divine truth in thoughts, dreams, and visions; or at times through explicit word-by-word communications; at other times inspired writers were directed by the Holy Spirit to select from data what was meaningful for the direction of God's people. The Holy Spirit inspired these chosen instruments in receiving and communicating revelation, enabling them to incorporate it in written form

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[1] B. Reicke, "Incarnation and Exaltation," Int 16 (1962): 162.
[2] E. G. White, *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 474; cf. Id., *Education*, p. 227; Id., *The Ministry of Healing*, p. 142.
[3] White, *The Great Controversy*, p. viii.

in a dependable, trustworthy, truthful manner. The result was the Word of God (Isa 30:8; 1 Thess 2:13; Rev 21:5).

The uniqueness of the Bible, with its God-given truths expressed in the language of men, rests in the union of divine and human just as such a union existed in the nature of Christ, who was both the Son of God and the Son of man.[4] This uniqueness imbues the Bible with normative authority that stands above all else, in the light of which, namely God's unique self-revelation in Scripture, everything else must be interpreted. From this fact we conclude that the Bible is "the test of all inspiration"[5] and that "the Bible is its own expositor" or "interpreter."[6]

Briefly, in view of the implications of what has been outlined, the Bible calls for a genuinely biblical hermeneutic.[7] It should be self-evident that such a biblical hermeneutic is a method of interpretation both grounded in Scripture and in harmony with the Bible. While such a "theological-historical method" will be sensitive to linguistic, archaeological, and historical data and their sociocultural contexts, it will consider the context of Scripture provided in the biblical canon the supreme, irrevocable norm for its approaches and procedures. This kind of biblical hermeneutic provides new answers to old questions and will reaffirm God's plan of salvation for mankind, confronting modern man and his culture(s) anew in the here and now with the reality of the transcendent saving and judging God through Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, as provided through the Word of God, which is Scripture.

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[4]Ibid., p. vi.
[5]Ibid., p. 193.
[6]White, *Education*, p. 190; cf. Id., *The Great Controversy*, p. 521.
[7]Groundwork for this has been laid in the studies contained in Hyde, ed., *Biblical Hermeneutics*; Gerhard F. Hasel, *Understanding the Living Word of God* (Mountain View, CA, 1980); et al.

APPENDIX
Structural Criticism and the Bible

Origins of Structuralism

Structuralism is both a philosophy and a critical methodology. The three founding fathers of structuralism are Karl Marx (1818-1883), the German-Jewish social philosopher whose system is known as "dialectical materialism"; Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), the Austrian-Jewish founder of psychoanalysis; and F. de Saussure, the Swiss linguist theoretician whose contributions in linguistics have been likened to a "Copernican revolution" in this field.[1]

At the beginning of the twentieth century a number of studies appeared that dealt with the general question of literary creativity from the perspective of linguistics, primarily the structural linguistics of F. de Saussure[2] whose four theoretical dichotomies continue to be important: synchronic/diachronic, language-in-use *(parole)*/language-system *(langue)*, signifier *(significant)*/signified *(signifie)*, and syntagma/paradigm. It goes beyond the limitations imposed upon us to describe the various linguistic theories that have been developed and upon which structuralism or structural criticism is based. They move from Saussure's structural linguistics to the Czech (Prague) structuralists and Russian formalists, to the Copenhagen School and recent French and German structuralists.[3]

In the 1950s the French scholar C. Levi-Strauss was foremost in applying structural linguistics to other human sciences. Under the influence of Roman Jacobsen, who applied structural methods to anthropology, Levi-Strauss advocated the use of structuralism particularly to the social sciences and structural linguistics in the analysis of myth. Thus Levi-Strauss has influenced the structural criticism of the Bible.

In the 1960s the French structuralist R. Barthes had arrived at what is called "narrative semiotics," and traditional criticism in literature was diffused.

The work of the Russian folklore researcher V. Propp, whose study on Russian folklore in the form of fairy tales was published in 1928,[4] made its impact on structuralist activities. His influence is particularly noticeable in the fields of folklore and narrative. Propp analyzed a corpus of 100 Russian fairy tales and concluded that there were only 31 functions in them. Not all functions are present in each fairy tale but the sequence of

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[1]Richard T. and Fernande DeGeorge, eds., *The Structuralists: From Marx to Levi-Strauss* (New York, 1972).
[2]Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, tr. Wade Baskin (New York, 1966).
[3]E. V. McKnight, *Meaning of Texts: The Historical Shaping of a Narrative Hermeneutics* (New York, 1978).
[4]*Morphology of the Folktale*, 2nd ed., tr. Laurence Scott (Austin, TX., 1968).

the functions is always the same. Propp's study has had a deeply significant influence on structuralism as applied to the Bible.

In the same decade in which R. Barthes developed narrative semiotics[5] another French scholar, A. J. Greimas, developed his narrative grammar. Essential for Greimas was the pioneer work of Propp. Greimas also developed and modified the work of other scholars, particularly the Copenhagen structuralist L. Hjelmsler. Greimas formulated principles or postulates common to all students of narrative: the definition of narrative, differentiating between various planes of narrative structure, articulation of events in sequences of action, and developing a "lexicon" of narratives and rules for the combination of narrative units.

This description of the origin of structuralism is in no way complete but is aimed at mentioning major founders and giants in the field. At present structuralism is invading virtually every area of study;[6] and since the 1970s its impact has been felt on biblical studies in Europe and the United States.

Diachronic Versus Synchronic Critical Methods

As surveyed above, the dominant methods of the historical-critical approach to the Bible over the last two centuries are source (literary) criticism, form criticism, tradition criticism, and redaction criticism. These methods focus on genetic relationships and historical growth of the biblical tradition as viewed by its practitioners. Accordingly, they are described as being "diachronic" in nature. They trace historical evolution and development from stage to stage, attempting to penetrate to the original situation, depict successive modifications and reinterpretations, and discover the various sociocultural settings in life (Sitze im Leben) that determined genetic growth in the different stages. The "diachronic" approach to the Bible with the aid of the historical-critical method has been found wanting. As seen above, W. Wink declared categorically, "Historical criticism is bankrupt."[7] G. Maier entitled his critique of the historical-critical method as applied to the Bible, The End of the Historical Critical Method.[8] These voices together with many others as outlined above reflect general unrest about the "diachronic" or historical-critical approach to the Bible.

The "diachronic" approach separates the divine from the human and treats the human as any human production in isolation from the divine. It is fair to say that the respective contemporary cultural contexts of critical scholars have been determinative on the whole for the interpretation of the Bible within the historical-critical method.

Particularly since the 1970s the modern cultural context has become influential in biblical interpretation. It is said that biblical interpretation is in a state of change as revolutionary as at the advent of the historical-critical method in the seventeenth century.[9] The emergence of a modern understanding of man involves a new method of interpreting man's means of communication, that is, his expressions in literature, art, music, and the like.

This new method is structuralism—described as a "synchronic" approach to a text. Whereas the "diachronic" approach of the historical-critical method places emphasis on the historical-evolutionary sequence with a linear horizontal interest, the "synchronic" (achronic) approach of structuralism places main, if not exclusive, emphasis on the internal relationships within a system; that is, it considers the various elements within a text in their mutual and simultaneous interdependence. Instead of manifesting a linear horizontal interest as in historical criticism, structuralism manifests an in-depth, vertical interest without being limited to a specific time span.

Some historical critics conceive structuralism to be but one more methodological perspective to be added to source criticism, form criticism, tradition criticism, and redaction criticism. Many proponents of structuralism, however, understand it as a shift from the historical-critical master paradigm to the structural-critical master paradigm. D. Patte warns of confusing these two master paradigms, suggesting that "they should be kept in a dialectical tension."[10] J. D. Crossan understands the revolutionary changes in biblical interpretation as changing critical biblical studies from a single discipline to a field of disciplines in which the historical and structural methodologies are the twin axes of critical biblical studies, with structural analysis coming procedurally prior to historical analysis.[11]

While some earlier structuralists saw an either/or situation, more recent trends seem to indicate a both/and approach with a dialectical tension between both, but keeping the two "distinct, separate, and unconfounded" (Dan O. Via, Jr.).

Structural criticism is compared to aesthetic literary criticism, which is concerned with the surface structure of the text and the manifest union of form and content, is concerned with "the relationship between the surface structure and the 'deep' structures which lie implicitly or unconsciously beneath, around, and alongside the text."[12] The synchronic approach developed in structuralism is "interested in a study of the material as it exists at a given moment, usually the material in its final literary form; . . . It begins (from the surface text, of course) by moving to the

[5]Semantique structurale (Paris, 1966).

[6]See Michael Lane, ed., Introduction to Structuralism (New York, 1970); R. Macksey and E. Donato, eds., The Languages of Criticism and the Science of Man (New York, 1970).

[7]The Bible in Human Transformation (Philadelphia, 1973), p. 1.

[8](St. Louis, 1977), German original 1974.

[9]J. D. Crossan, J. J. Collins, V. K. Robbins, etc.

[10]What is Structural Exegesis? (Philadelphia, 1976), pp. 16, 19.

[11]BR 22 (1977): 39-49.

[12]Dan O. Via, Jr., "Foreword" to Daniel Patte, What is Structural Exegesis? p. iv.

more abstract structures. . . ."[13]   The "more abstract structures" are usually designated as the "deep structures." The structuralist R. Polzin argues strongly that "structural interpretation is a hypothetical-deductive interpretation" which "studies wholes, studies them as systems of transformations, and studies them as self-regulating or closed."[14]

Preunderstanding and Presuppositions in Structural Criticism

The idea of preunderstanding became particularly prominent in this century in the theology and exegetical work of R. Bultmann. This prominent scholar suggested that modern man comes to the biblical text with a preunderstanding determined by his own culture, which presupposes the historical-critical method.[15] The existentialist philosophy is the means for making a demythologized biblical message relevant for modern man. As Bultmann and other modern critics come to the text with a modern cultural preunderstanding, so the structuralists come to the text with another set of cultural preunderstandings. A noted structural critic points out that "the very introduction of structural methods in exegesis implies a shift in the exegete's preunderstanding of the biblical text."[16] The interpreter who employs the new methodology for the Bible must recognize the new cultural setting.

We need to remind ourselves that modern cultural preunderstandings are determinative for the task of interpretation in both the diachronic historical-critical method and the synchronic method of structuralism. Regarding the preunderstanding, there is in principle no change between the diachronic and synchronic methodologies; because both are dependent upon modern culture, and their methods are determined by it, not by biblical testimony about the divine-human nature of the biblical text.

What modern cultural preunderstandings are at the core of structuralism? D. Patte answers, "Our culture is man-centered rather than cosmos-centered. Our preunderstandings are therefore man-centered; they depend on our 'view of man' (rather than upon our 'world view')."[17] Obviously structuralist preunderstandings are built on the dialectical philosophy of man that also is reflected in modern behaviorist theories, linguistics, anthropology, and sociology. This means that the structural exegete of the Bible depends on his culture, which imposes significations upon him. These significations are normative for him, while at the same time he is the creator of significations. The structuralist functions within this hermeneutical circle and its anthropological dialectical philosophy.

At least two presuppositions are foundational for structuralism both as a philosophy and as a critical methodology. The first presupposition is that

[13]McKnight, p. 193.
[14]*Biblical Structuralism* (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 1, 5.
[15]Bultmann, *Existence and Faith* (New York, 1965), pp. 289-296.
[16]Patte, *What is Structural Exegesis?* p. 1.
[17]Ibid., p. 2.

"appearances are not reality. Phenomena (like literary texts) as they meet the eye are to be explained by phenomena below the surface, called deep structures."[18]

It is not possible to describe here the various "deep structures" in detail. It may suffice to point out that a leading theoretical model of the "deep structures" was proposed by A. J. Greimas and developed for biblical texts by D. Patte, B. B. Scott, J. Calloud, and others. Greimas distinguished three structural levels: deep structure, superficial structure, and manifestation structure. Patte rephrases these structural levels as deep, cultural, and enunciation structures, noting that they roughly correspond to the constraints that characterize humanity, nationality, and individuality.

The primary object of structuralism is the deep structures. These are described by Greimas as defining the fundamental mode of existence of an individual or society and their elemental constituents which have a definable, logical structure. The basic model of the level of deep structures is the Aristotelian square of opposition with its relations of contrariety, contradiction, and implication. However, both Greimas and Patte distinguish three hierarchically ordered structural stages at the deep level: elementary, mythical, and narrative structure. The deep structures are common elements of the human mind or the brain of man *qua* man. Basically the deep structures are universal elements common to the human species.

The second foundational presupposition is that "deep structures express themselves as codes. All human activities, from kinship patterns to literary texts to fashions, are coded expressions of the deep structures of the human brain. The fundamental model for understanding all codes is language, which explains the peculiarly important place that linguistics plays in structuralist theory."[19]

In view of this presupposition, the structuralist perceives biblical literature as the linguistic expression of structures of meaning which are coded. He believes that in order to break codes or to decode the deep structures one must pay attention to wholes. The wholes are final manifestations in the form of finished literary compositions. These wholes should not be dissected into parts, as if these parts have meaning apart from the whole, as has been done in the diachronic historical-critical method. The wholes, then, are final literary texts as they meet the eye.

The structuralist then has at one end of the vertical axis the literary text as it meets the eye, a text which can be reduced to very small units, like words, metaphors, and symbols. At the other end of the axis are the deep structures which have been coded in the text as it meets the eye. The next step is the decoding of these deep structures of human communication. The foundational presuppositions for decoding the various structures are the following: The basic presupposition for the model of the *elementary* structure is Aristotle's logical square, the square of opposition; that of

[18]D. Robertson, "The Bible as Literature," IDB, Supp. (1976), p. 549.
[19]Ibid., p. 549.

the *mythical* structures is the four-volume study of myths by C. Levi-Strauss; and that of the *narrative* structures is the anthropological study of Russian fairy tales by V. Propp.

Structuralism and Narrative Structures

It may be useful to summarize some structuralist models after describing certain aspects of structuralism. Unfortunately, structuralism is filled with tortured abstractions, making it difficult to follow the various structuralist models.

Beginning in 1970 E. Güttgemanns of the University of Bonn conceived a program of "generative poetics"[20] which, as the name indicates, envisions a method on the deeper or generative levels of language. Güttgemanns' structural method proceeds in three general steps. First he adopts as a basis for his narrative syntax the 31 functions *(motifemes)* which V. Propp recognized as the constant dimensions in his study of 100 Russian fairy tales.

Second, Güttgemanns organized the 31 functional actions *(motifemes)* into a narrative syntax by distinguishing contradictory, contrary, and implicative *motifemes* through formal operations based on the logical square, hexagon, octagon, and cube. He summarizes, "On the basis of the logical operations presented above, it is possible to prove why, at the point where something is 'narrated,' something *must* be 'narrated' in this way, *how* it is 'narrated,' and also *what* sort of things *can* make up the content of a 'narrative.'"[21]

Third, he applies this logical narrative syntax to a corpus of NT parables.[22] He reached the conclusion that the narrative competence of the Gospels is part of the general human competence but needs the "historical" Jesus and the "kerygma" merely as impetus and necessary condition, but not as a sufficient condition which is provided by human grammar alone.

This model of a narrative syntax has not been well received by all structural exegetes. It has been questioned on the levels of theory and method. One major theoretical objection relates to the "danger of a new positivism, a structurism to replace historicism, a reduction of narrative art to logical mechanics." On the level of method the question has been raised why the 31 fairy-tale functions *(motifemes)* distilled by V. Propp can furnish a universal (not just Russian or Western) narrative syntax.[23] If one claims V. Propp's fairy-tale syntax to be universal for all narratives, can this be vindicated or is this not an unwarranted generalization and a reductionism limiting the functions of man *qua* man?

The second model of a narrative syntax follows the research of A. J. Greimas (1966, 1970). His seminal research on narrative discourse

indicated that in addition to linguistic constraints a narrative text has broader transcultural constraints designated as narrative structures. The narrative structures are specific ways to interrelate semantic units. The basic assumption regarding the narrative structure is its universality in the sense that it is common to all narratives in all cultures and that it is presupposed by any human beings able to recognize meaningful narratives. This model is also built on Propp's seminal investigation of the 100 Russian fairy tales and formalizes and universalizes this theory. The French scholar J. Calloud applies this model of narrative syntax to biblical texts.

It will be useful to summarize the general steps of J. Calloud's *Structural Analysis of Narrative.*[24] Building on the linguistic model of narrative structures on the basis of Propp, Barthes, and Greimas and the notion of "system" in "language" definition of de Saussure, Calloud proposes a narrative syntax along the following general steps: (1) He suggests that a narrative syntax, like a linguistic syntax, involves morphology, syntax, and semantics. Morphology means a defining and classifying of units; syntax combines these units on the basis of a number of rules; semantics indicates the various "meaning effects" produced by the combination of these units. (2) Calloud argues that the first phase of research deals with "lexies," or reading units, which may consist of several sentences, a single sentence, or part of a sentence describing a minimal actor/process happening. The actor/process happenings or "lexies" are organized by means of a narrative syntax in six hierarchies: (a) Sequences which are either correlated or topical and are composed of (b) syntagms of contractual, disjunctional, or kinds related to performance which are composed of (c) utterances which are also contractual, disjunctional, or performancial and composed of (d) functions of seven binary types (arrival/departure or return; conjunction/disjunction; mandating/acceptance or refusal; confrontation or affrontment; domination/submission; communication/reception; attribution/deprivation) and (e) actants or actors and their roles as subject, object, addresser, addressee, helper, opponent which are mutually related according to the (f) actantial model.[25] (3) Calloud discusses the analysis of semantic contents which leads to the understanding of the "signified" (or explanation about that text).[26] (4) Calloud employs this syntactic and semantic theory to the story of Jesus' temptation in the NT.[27]

Although the summary of this second model of a structural narrative syntax is rather technical, it is quite different from the model of Güttgemanns. Both models start from the investigation of Russian folklore by V. Propp. The Greimas-Calloud model also has developed Propp's functional categories into universal ones. So the question raised regarding the positivistic structurism remains. It appears that the base for a structural narrative syntax built upon but one study of Western (Russian) folklore is

[20] "Generative Poetics," *Semeia*, vol. 6 (Missoula, MT, 1976).
[21] Ibid., p. 86.
[22] Ibid., pp. 127–179.
[23] J. D. Crossan, Int 32 (1978): 275.

[24] (Philadelphia, 1976).
[25] Ibid., pp. 11–35.
[26] Ibid., pp. 37–46.
[27] Ibid., 49–108.

too narrow to build universal applications for all humanity in every culture past or present. The theoretical base itself is highly problematical.

Critique of Structuralism

First, structuralism in its modern form is a fairly young scholarly enterprise that seeks meaning in texts as they meet the eye. On the positive side it should be stated that structuralism deals with wholes or manifestations in their finished and available form. This means that it is opposed to the atomistic approach on the horizontal plane as manifested in the diachronic historical-critical method and its procedures of source criticism, form criticism, tradition criticism and redaction criticism. From this perspective, structuralism is rather attractive to the student of the Bible because it begins its work with the text as it stands. But this attraction may be problematical in many other aspects.

Second, structural criticism is not alone in this emphasis. Structuralism is part of the movement in this century that considers the Bible as literature. Another part of the same movement is known as "new criticism." It too has been primarily concerned with the text as it meets the eye, which is to say, as it presents itself to the reader. New criticism is nonstructural criticism but shares with structural criticism its concentration of (1) the text as the object of study, and (2) its willingness to study the text separated from its historical moorings. Whereas the student who considers the Bible in its canonical form as the inspired Word of God wishes to study biblical texts as they present themselves to him, he also accepts the text given in the canon of Scripture and is unwilling to tear the individual biblical books and its parts out of these historical moorings.

Third, the historical-critical method with its horizontal, diachronic penetration of the text reconstructs a sociocultural context and in turn interprets the atomized text on the basis of this reconstruction. The structuralist method (or simply structuralism) with its vertical, synchronic (or achronic) penetration of whole texts down to their alleged deep structures employs formal and abstract universals and interprets the texts on the basis of another sociocultural context. The decisive difference between the diachronic and synchronic methods is that the diachronic historical-critical method reconstructs on the basis of a modern historical paradigm, whereas the synchronic structural-critical method (structuralism) works with a modern linguistic paradigm. Is the substitution of history with linguistics necessarily the solution to the problem of anthropocentricity?

Fourth, the decisive common denominator of both the diachronic and synchronic methods is its preunderstandings and presuppositions which in both instances are determined by, grounded in, and dependent upon modern Western culture. In both instances modern Western culture with its philosophical norms dominate the study of ancient non-Western Scripture.

Fifth, neither the diachronic nor the synchronic approach to the Bible has shown itself to be able to arise out of, nor deal with, the divine-human interrelationship of Scripture. Since structuralism's preunderstandings are

man-centered (D. Patte), its application to the Bible can only deal with Scripture as a human production. From the start it is unable to deal, and seemingly uninterested in dealing, with the Bible as inspired Scripture. The philosophical constraints of its explicit preunderstandings and presuppositions force the structuralist exegete to treat the Bible as a purely human manifestation.

Sixth, structuralism views the Bible as literature in the same way as any other literary production. The issue to be raised is whether the Bible is merely literature. Is not the Bible something other than literature? If this should be the case, and we believe it is, does this not make the biblical documents something they were not meant to be? The removal of the biblical documents from their given context as Scripture into an alien literary context of modern conception is an issue of greatest consequence which cannot be easily dismissed.

Seventh, the application of the historical-critical method involved a closed system in the sense that it posited "a closed continuum of effects [in history] in which individual events are connected by the succession of cause and effect."[28] This presupposition has been applied to the horizontal diachronic level. Structuralism with its vertical structural axis of "para-history"[29] similarly sees "the text in a distinctive way: as a system of transformation that is self-regulating or closed."[30]

If one of the basic characteristics of structuralism is that it studies wholes as "self-regulating or closed," the question inevitably arises whether this "self-regulation or closedness" of wholes indeed leaves room for "new" content of a supernatural origin or whether such a possibility is ruled out from the beginning as not lying within the realms of "para-history." Paul Ricoeur, French philosopher of religion and language, has noted that one of the weaknesses in the semiotic model and in structural anthropology is precisely "the absoluteness of a closed system."[31] Closed systems restrict the biblical materials from functioning as inspired Scripture. This Bible as Scripture and Word of God calls for more than a "closed" system to let it speak in the fulness and with the authority it demands.

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[28]Bultmann, p. 291.
[29]Crossan.
[30]Polzin, *Biblical Structuralism*, p. 1.
[31]"Biblical Hermeneutics," *Seimeia* 4 (1975): 29-148.